THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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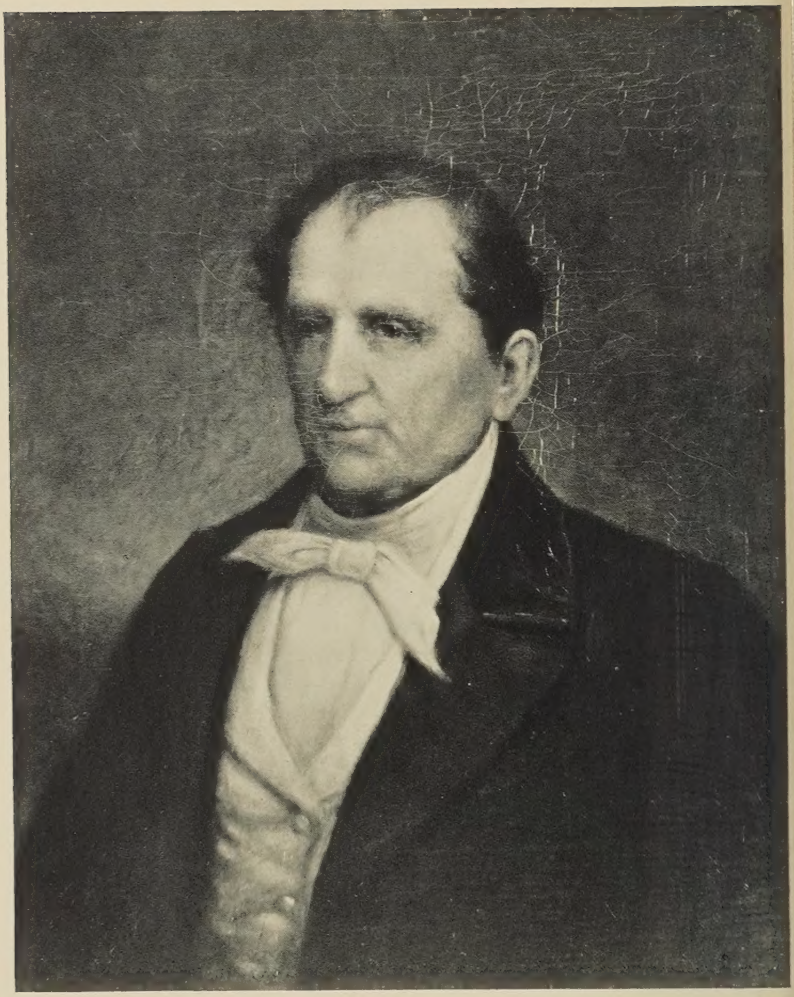

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER (1789–1851)

Author of the unpublished "The Towns of Manhattan"
By Asa W. Twitchell after Charles L. Elliott

The New-York Historical Society

THE NEW-YORK
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THE FIRST HISTORY OF GREATER NEW YORK

UNKNOWN PORTIONS OF FENIMORE COOPER'S LAST WORK

by JAMES F. BEARD, JR.*

THE EARLIEST effort to write a comprehensive history of the area now regarded as Greater New York was, appropriately, James Fenimore Cooper's *Towns of Manhattan*. Preferring the name Manhattan to New York as "more ancient and better adapted to the history, associations, and convenience of the place," Cooper employed it freely to designate "the prosperous sisterhood at the mouth of the Hudson."[1] In foreseeing that the separate communities thriving on Manhattan Island and opposite its eastern, southern, and western banks would one day be parts

* Professor Beard, Guggenheim Fellow, on leave from the Department of English, Dartmouth College, is working this year on Cooper's letters. He would be deeply grateful if owners of letters to or from Cooper or of other manuscripts by or pertaining to Cooper would communicate with him at 72 Murray Place, Princeton, New Jersey.

[1] Introduction to *Towns of Manhattan*, reprinted as *New York* (New York: 1930), 3–4.

of a single metropolitan district, Cooper was not alone. He was alone in turning to serious historical account the phenomenal development of the towns and the vision of their amalgamation. He intended, clearly, to catch in a firm sweep of past, present, and future the destiny and significance of New York City.

Hitherto, *Towns of Manhattan* has been known exclusively by its discursive Introduction—all of the work that was thought to have survived. That the book was to have been a history, the first history of New York City, has been all but forgotten by commentators. Fortunately, some portions of the text have been preserved (reproduced at the close of these remarks); and enough information can be gleaned from letters and miscellaneous sources to reconstruct the calamitous story of Cooper's last major effort.[2]

Although the immediate circumstances of Cooper's conception of a history of New York City are not known, the book was possibly the "long cherished project, which will require time to execute," to which Cooper alluded in a letter to Richard Bentley, his English publisher, on July 18, 1848. In addition to being a labor of love, the work must also have been Cooper's response to a need long felt by sensitive and loyal New Yorkers. E. Palmer Belden, who had found it worthwhile to spend twenty thousand dollars in the construction, for exhibition, of an elaborate scale-model of New York, reported astonishment in 1848 "that no history of the city had ever been published, and that no accurate descriptive work had been issued in the last twenty years."[3] Betraying the tenor of literary gossip in New York, *The Home Journal* announced on November 11, 1848, that Cooper was "busy completing his 'Historical and Philosophical Account of Society in the Middle States,' to appear in a brace of octavos,

[2] Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are in the Cooper Collection of the Yale University Library. They are presented here through the courtesies of the Yale Library and the Fenimore Cooper family.

[3] *New-York: Past, Present, and Future; Comprising a History of the City of New-York, A Description of Its Present Condition and an Estimate of Its Future Increase* (New York: 1849), p.[v]. Although advertised as a history, Belden's work was essentially a guide-book, reissued with changes and corrections for several years. Its Historical Sketch of New York City occupies fourteen pages. It may be worth noting that Belden's publisher, George P. Putnam, was also Cooper's.

which will show that there are two sides to the position that all the liberties and intelligence of the country come from New England"; and, again, on April 7, 1849, *The Home Journal* stated that Cooper's "'New-York, Past and Present' is to appear early in the summer in two volumes. It will prove one of the most characteristic, and perhaps will be regarded as by far the ablest of his works—by everybody except the *Anti-Renters*."

The expectations of Cooper's friends were deservedly high; for, man and boy, he had been familiar with the City for fifty years. As a child, he had been taken to see her lion and, no doubt, her Pinkster frolics, described in *Satanstoe*. As a young naval officer, assigned to recruiting in New York, he had had every opportunity to learn the harbor and the waterfront. Later, a young married man, he had spent weeks and months at the City Hotel while provisioning his whaling ship and seeing to his varied interests. From 1822 to 1826, he had lived in the City and been prominent in her artistic, intellectual, and sporting circles. When he returned to New York in 1833, his observation sharpened by years of European residence, he exposed her deficiencies as he saw them, physical, moral, and social, with excruciating frankness. After a year or two, he moved his home to the interior of the State. There was a wealth of dedicated affection beneath the emphatic gestures of disapproval; and Cooper continued to spend days, weeks, or months each year in the City on business and pleasure. As his writings show, he watched closely and jealously over her, castigating her for real or fancied weaknesses, and hoping always that she was about to become a commercial and cultural capital in the European sense.

Despite his accumulated knowledge of New York, obtained in part directly from her oldest families, Cooper was apparently not ready to begin writing until he had followed a program of intensive reading. He always took his duties as a historian seriously; and he seems to have devoted much of the summer, autumn, and winter of 1850 to preliminary work. He began the writing of *Towns of Manhattan* during the winter,[4] knowing, as

[4] Susan Fenimore Cooper's manuscript sketch for a Preface to *Towns of Manhattan*.

he told a young correspondent, that he was "not a thousand leagues from the land of spirits."[5] The publisher, George P. Putnam, made optimistic plans for publication in March 1851, inserting notices in *The [New York] Evening Post* in January, and sending Cooper proofs of four illustrations for the work.[6] It was perhaps at this point that Cooper made some radical revision of his plan that may have required complete rewriting.[7] Interruptions were numerous. In March, he visited New York for the last time to consult doctors and to attend to his complicated affairs. In March also, Putnam asked Cooper to contribute an article to his new book on American landscape, *The Home Book of the Picturesque*.[8] With these and other interruptions, it was not until May that Cooper could return to *Towns of Manhattan* or, as his daughter Susan suggested in a sketch for a Preface to the book, begin the writing "anew."

By July, his health now so enfeebled that doctors had ordered him to lay aside the pen, Cooper had made much progress, dictating to his daughter Charlotte, who served as his amanuensis.[9] On July 23, 1851, he dictated a remarkable letter to Putnam in which there are no hints of flagging powers, though, significantly, there is no mention of health:

> I send you the introduction and eight chapters of the Towns of Manhattan, thinking it best to commence printing. You will find in Valentine's books a great many of the engravings that I propose to refer to. In the text of my own book, I say that it may be questioned if there be a single building now standing in New-York that was standing prior to the year 1750. Valentine, however, gives a picture of a dutch house and I am curious to ascertain if it still be standing. I recollect a great many of these houses myself and there were plenty of them to be found in the early part of the century. But I think nearly all, if not absolutely all have vanished.
>
> Will you ascertain for me how the matter is? You will find the number and street in Valentine, page 370, Corporation Manual for 1847.

[5] JFC to "Saidee," January 18, 1851. Published in *Correspondence of James Fenimore-Cooper* edited by his grandson, James Fenimore Cooper (New Haven: 1922), II: 699–703.

[6] Putnam to JFC, January 13, 1851.

[7] Susan Fenimore Cooper's manuscript sketch for a Preface to *Towns of Manhattan*.

[8] Putnam to JFC, March 29, 1851.

[9] Note by Susan Fenimore Cooper, July 6, 1885.

We can now begin to print, which will enable us to settle the style and size of the page &c. I hope that the wood-cuts will be better looking than those of Valentine's book.

I now want a map made with some care. It will be to exhibit my own notion of the place with docks that will connect all the towns on the New-York side of the Hudson. This is conjectural, of course, but is a point of so much importance that I have devoted a chapter to it. The artist can fill up the East River with slips and quays and ware-houses according to his own fancy, but I wish him to form the outlines of these docks, according to mine. Next the Hudson there must be a massive quay built of stone with a range of ware-houses in the center, and double sets of gates, extending from Whitehall to Governor's Island, and the same from Governor's Island to Redhook. The various quays must be sketched at different points on the eastern side to show the choice that is offered, as I think it desirable to retain the water of Flushing Bay within the Dock; my own selection for the limit on that side would be from the point on the eastern side of the bay, thence across the island, and from the island to the main land at some convenient point between Hell-Gate and Harlaam river. This would be the noblest dock in the world. Its objections and its advantages are reasoned out in the text.

I should propose to make the landing for the ordinary coasting trade east, just at the mouth of the Harlaam River and at the foot of the Heights. By means of rail-roads, articles could be sent to any part of the town as cheaply as they are now carted.

You will see that this map will require several delineations of eastern limits to the docks; and if you can get me an old map of the East river I will mark them off in the places where I propose to make them. Were there no arm of the sea here it would be considered a great achievement to cut these docks through any favourable ground that might happen to exist here. But, with every facility for carrying on this great work making the best docks in the world and uniting all the towns, by means of bridges, the accommodations for trade would turn those of Liverpool and London into insignificance. On this map and this chapter I wish some care to be expended, for I feel certain that at a future day the work must be achieved.[10]

The magnificence of this effort at city-planning is a little astonishing today.

The last chapter of *Towns of Manhattan* to have been completed was dictated to Charlotte Cooper on August 4.[11] Then the mishaps began. In August, one of Putnam's subordinates reported

[10] Quoted, in part, by the courtesies of the New York Public Library, Manuscript Room, and the Fenimore Cooper family.

[11] Note by Susan Fenimore Cooper, July 6, 1885.

that the final page or pages of manuscript of the Introduction could not be found.[12] On September 14, Cooper died.

Although Putnam was again forced to postpone the publication date, he still intended to publish *Towns of Manhattan*, incomplete though it was. A letter from Susan Cooper to the publisher shows how matters stood on October 11, 1851:

I send you the remaining pages of the "*Towns of Manhattan*," according to your request.—We have again made a most careful search for the missing pages of the Introduction but in vain; nothing has come to light. Has the waste paper of the printing-office been looked over? I am strongly inclined to believe it has been lost there, for my sister says that a package could not be made up more carefully than that which contained the rest of M.S. and she feels confident that the Introduction, *complete*, and eight Chapters, were sealed up together on that occasion.—What course would you propose to pursue, if the close should not be found?—I have looked over the proof you sent me, as it now stands, and it strikes me that it would be practicable to break off at the word "*receives*," on the eig[h]th line from the bottom, page XLI. The end would be rather abrupt but not unmeaning, in that case.—Or, should you prefer it, I might perhaps attempt to add a page myself; it would be an awkward, and an unpleasant task to me, but it might be done if necessary.—Or again, the Introduction like the work itself might be left unfinished—I leave you to decide this point yourself.—

As regards correcting the proofs, I will readily undertake it; there are several necessary corrections in the sheet you sent me, which ought to be attended to; I have made them in addition to those noted already.—Please have a revised sheet forwarded.

The three Maps alluded to, you will find in *Valentine's Corporation Manual* for 1850—at pages 194—212—and 220—one being a map of 1695—another of 1729—and a third of 1763— These I suppose to be all you wish— We could easily forward to you the volume we have, but I have no doubt it is already on your own shelves.—

The early view of New Amsterdam to which you refer is probably that connected with Van der Donck's map of New-Netherlands 1656;[13] you will find it *below* the map, on the same page— This, at least is the only view of the kind, to my knowledge in which the "*gallows*" mentioned in Chap I is conspicuous.—A copy of this map is bound up in O'Callaghan's Hist. of New Netherlands Vol II p. 312—Doubtless you have the book itself.

Have you any frontispiece in view? It was my Father's intention to have had among the cuts, the two old Colonial seals, Dutch, and English—

[12] F. Saunders to JFC, August 7, 1851.

[13] The late Victor Hugo Paltsits ("Bibliography," I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island 1498–1909*, VI: 260) has shown this attribution to be incorrect on several counts.

It struck me they might be well introduced perhaps, in the Title-page. You will find them in the Documentary History of N. Y. Vol III, page 397 —

What is to be done as regards the Preface?

The map of the bay, and rivers sent by you was never marked by *his* hand. We all regret this very much; for it would have been highly interesting. The rough draft shall be returned, as it was received, if you desire it. My dear Father's mind dwelt much on this subject, some time after he had been forbidden to write, but he looked forward to being able to mark the docks he had planned, at a later day— You received a letter, I believe in connection with this subject, which might perhaps be introduced, in part at least, either in the preface or in a note—but of this I could judge better if I were to look it over again, should it be still among your papers.[34]

As regards the notes I proposed, it would not be difficult to furnish some twelve or fifteen pages of them. It was my idea to leave the text precisely as it stands, not even adding a note to the body of the work, but to insert them together, in a different type at the close. I would divide them by Chapters, with a separate heading; as for instance "*Notes to Chap. I Hudson p. 47* — then follows an account of the different names of the river && with a number of others of the same nature. *Notes to Chap II First building in Manhattan p. 56:* here I would give some brief notice of the earliest building from the best authorities && The eight Chapters taken in this way would furnish materials for a number of notes of some little interest I should suppose, giving at the same time greater bulk to the volume. Pray let me know if you wish me to prepare them.

Should you desire a closing page to the introduction—a task of no little difficulty—I must beg you to send me the whole of that part of the book, as I have never even looked it over.—[35]

In December, preparations for the publication of *Towns of Manhattan* were still in progress. Susan Cooper prepared some or all of her notes for the Appendix;[36] and she and Putnam selected ad-

[34] The Cooper letter is doubtless that of July 23, 1851, previously quoted.

[35] Quoted, in part, by the courtesies of the New York Public Library, Manuscript Room, and the Fenimore Cooper family.

[36] Forty-three pages of rough drafts and jottings chiefly for these notes are preserved in the Yale Cooper Collection. Since the notes were to have been mainly glosses for the proper names Cooper mentioned in the text, and since they appear to have been taken from standard secondary sources, they are of little scholarly value. One passage, at least, from these materials left by Susan Cooper has interest as an intended substitution for Cooper's own text on pages 73 and 74. It is given here in full:

"It was in the year 1653 that the burghers of New Amsterdam, after a struggle of ten years, first obtained a regular municipal court, from the Directors, in Holland; it consisted of two burgomasters, five schepens, and a schout or sheriff. These officers were understood to be similar to those of the parent town of Amsterdam, in Holland, but in fact their powers were comparatively very limited; nor were they elected by the burghers, but received their appointments from the Director General Stuyvesant. They were publicly installed, every year in February, and an especial prayer was

ditional illustrations: a bird's-eye view of the City taken from Union Square, and views of Trinity Church, the Government House, and the old City Hall.[17] When Susan Cooper proposed a remodeling of the entire work, now that it was at last in page proof, Putnam hardly concealed his irritation.[18] Their joint labors came to an accidental close between December and July apparently; for a fire destroyed the manuscript and plates in the publisher's establishment, so far as they were completed. The portions of the book saved, about half of the manuscript of the Introduction, and parts of the page proof of the Introduction and text seem to have been in Susan Cooper's possession at the time of the fire. In addition, a full set of proofs for the Introduction was apparently preserved by a "literary gentleman," "editor of a popular critical journal," to whom Putnam sent it before the fire.[19] By July, Mrs. Cooper had also died; and the notes Putnam had given her in payment for the manuscript had been cancelled or returned.[20] By October, Susan Cooper had absorbed the remains of her father's history into her personal publishing plans. "I see," she wrote Putnam on October 9, 1852:

> that "*Towns of Manhattan*" is still included in your recent list of works in press—Was this an oversight, or an allusion to my own future plans? In either case I must beg that the advertisement be withdrawn. I still hope, should my life be spared, to embody what was preserved of the original work, in a volume of my own—but it will necessarily be some time before this can be published, and under these circumstances I should prefer that the advertisement be withdrawn, for the present.[21]

Nothing more is known of *Towns of Manhattan* until, in 1864,

offered in their behalf, on the occasion. The burgomasters, and schepens, sitting together, constituted a court of sessions whose jurisdiction was very indefinite, and from their decisions there lay an appeal with the Director General and Council. Their meetings were held in the Stadt-Huys, the building represented in the plate. They met once every fortnight, for three hours in the forenoon; or more frequently when business required them to do so. The building itself stood on Hoogh-Straat, or High-Street, which was in reality the eastern portion of Pearl-Street; it faced the head of Coenties-slip."

[17] Putnam to Susan Fenimore Cooper, December 2, 1851.

[18] *Ibid.*

[19] *The Spirit of the Fair*, April 5, 1864, p. 6. The present location of this set of proofs for the Introduction is unknown, but it was evidently the source of the first and only published text.

[20] Putnam to Paul Fenimore Cooper, July 20, 1852.

[21] Quoted, in part, by the courtesies of the owner, Mrs. Frederick C. Overbury, San Marino, California, and the Fenimore Cooper family.

the Introduction, where Cooper had expressed strong Unionist sentiments, was exhumed for its prophetic relevance. *The Spirit of the Fair*, a newspaper sponsored by the Sanitary Commission, undertook to feature the Introduction, with three excisions, serially in eight of its issues.[22] "In discussing the growth of New York," wrote the Editor, "and in speculating on her future destiny, the patriotic and sagacious author seems to have anticipated the terrible crisis through which the nation is now passing; there is a prescience in the views he expresses, which is all the more impressive inasmuch as they are uttered by a voice now silent for ever."[23] To draw further notice to Cooper's observations, Charles K. Tuckerman reprinted excerpts from the Introduction as an article, "James Fenimore Cooper on Secession and State Rights," in *The Continental Monthly* in July 1864; and in 1930, the late Dixon Ryan Fox contributed an introduction to the incomplete text from *The Spirit of the Fair*, reprinted separately as *New York*. The omitted portions are first published here.[24]

[22] April 5, 1864, p. 6–7; April 6, 1864, p. 18–19; April 7, 1864, p. 30–31; April 8, 1864, p. 42–43; April 9, 1864, p. 54–55; April 13, 1864, p. 90–91; April 14, 1864, p. 102–103; and April 15, 1864, p. 114.

[23] *The Spirit of the Fair*, April 5, 1864, p. 6.

[24] From the manuscript of the first twelve pages of Cooper's Introduction in the Yale Cooper Collection, the first six in his hand and the remaining six in the hand of his daughter Charlotte, it appears that two extremely wordy paragraphs were omitted from his discussion of slavery (at the close of the second paragraph on page 22 in *New York*):

"To us it seems a bold assumption to say that the constitution anywhere recognizes slavery. In the representative clause instead of endowing it with privileges it rather applies to it a brand. In that instrument, as we have shewn, freedom endows the negro himself with additional value. As to what is termed the fugitive clause, it is a simple and just provision, necessary to the intercourse of a people, united by common laws and who are denied the privilege of protecting themselves from wrong by ordinary treaties. The intimacy of the intercourse would seem to demand a stipulation of this nature, and good faith, the ties of brotherhood, respect for the national compact, patriotism, nationality and every inducement, that can be brought to bear upon the mind, connected with the highest political considerations, come in aid of the solemn obligation. As these are subjects, however, that cannot be too thoroughly sifted, and on which depend the gravest results to the republic, we will, for a moment, inquire into what we conceive is the true construction of the national compact in this connection, and insist on the vast importance of maintaining any just inferences at which we may happen to arrive.

"In the peculiar circumstances in which the country is now placed moreover and considering the importance of the question of the durability of the Union to the interests of the great commercial mart of this portion of the world, we find additional reasons for adopting this course. We are fully aware of the difficulties of contending with received opinions and how much it is apparently opposed to that

It has been the misfortune of this country to have had its constitution interpreted by common law lawyers, instead of statesmen. This important and comprehensive instrument, designed to protect the interests of one of the greatest nations of modern times — much the greatest, indeed, of the governments, like one of those enormous iron bridges which span enormous chasms, despite even weights, has been examined and construed with the skirts of a brief, and is generally received with the rigid interpolation of a penal statute. One of the effects of this leading error is misconceive so many of the fundamental principles of all governments.

Perhaps no little territory of the people both to the constitutions for all the great powers of the country; such as the right to make war, negotiate treaties, maintain armies and all the other peculiar functions of independent sovereignties. The constitutions are not vest in the Union, one of powers, all of which are international and are incidents of sovereignty. The office of the constitution is merely to say by whom and how these powers shall be exercised among ourselves. By these leading facts in view, and regarding the national compact as a mere matter of subordinate to the great principle of nationality, one gets a much more clear idea of the system than is to be formed in the usual common ideas on the subject.

It is evident that the right to hold subject territory, however acquired, is a right of every sovereign State, for its integral institutions to what ever they may. Switzerland, Venice, Genoa, and all the other democratic (or Republics), aristocratic (or Venice and Venice) or great monarchical (or Prussia) States have held subject territory.

It is a pity that so much has been said touching the fallacy of the sovereignty of the States. The constitution no where recognizes them as sovereign, but in every article it enumerates powers which are clearly invaded every thing like this supposed sovereignty. The powers that are in the States are obviously not sovereign, since they can be taken away, on application to the Congress of any one State, with a single exception, that of the equal representation of the States in the Senate. This vestige of sovereignty is all that is left to the states, respectively, and amounts to very little more than a name. Nevertheless, the delusion that has grown up on this unsound basis, sustained and produced as it has been by local interests, has given birth to many

FACSIMILES OF TWO UNPUBLISHED PAGES IN COOPER'S HAND FOR HIS INTRODUCTION TO "THE TOWNS OF MANHATTAN"

Courtesies of the Yale University Library and the Cooper Family

These two manuscript pages, with the paragraphs quoted in note 24 and the page proofs reproduced on pages 123–128 herein, comprise all of the unpublished material which Cooper is known to have written for his Introduction to *The Towns of Manhattan,* including even the lost ending referred to in Saunder's letter of August 7, 1851 (see note 12 and text) and in Susan Cooper's letter of October 11, 1851 (quoted on page 114 above). All that remains of the history proper is reproduced in facsimile from the page proofs at the Yale University Library on pages 129–145 herein. It will be noted that, although the Introduction carried roman folios, concluding with page xlii, the history proper, though carrying arabic folios, was paged consecutively with the Introduction, the first page of Chapter I being unfolioed page 43.

[illegible] this principle, and the law is obtained that sanctions the accent as it [illegible] the [illegible] analysis will show. The constitution has three great modes of expressing itself, by direct grants and their just incidents, by prohibitions, and by implication. The power [illegible] money is a direct grant, and it is an incident of that grant, that the Federal [illegible] government can punish illegal coining, whether by a state or an individual. It is [illegible] a direct prohibition on the States equally, in another section of the instrument, in addition [illegible] also, for clearness, since it is obvious that if the United States possesses the power to coin [illegible] regulate the value of the money of the country, no State could possess it, or exercise [illegible] it, but by express permission to that effect. As one might be entitled to say, that, without the direct provision, a State could declare war, after the constitution has placed that particular [illegible] of sovereignty in Congress. [illegible] suppose

the prohibitory clauses say no State shall coin money, grant titles of nobility, or do many other things. But, we will suppose that a State should see fit to coin money, raise an army, or build a navy, in time of peace, without the consent of congress, it [illegible] no power in the government to enforce the provisions of the constitution to the [illegible] way? All that is said on the subject, in that instrument, is to be found in the prohibitory clause, but we cannot suppose that any man in his senses believes the Federal Government [illegible] is universally important, at least to be able to [illegible] to have no authority in the premises to punish a breach of [illegible] the law by [illegible]

It may be said, however, that all the powers just mentioned have been granted to the Federal Government, and it has an implied right to protect itself. We will take an instance, in which the prohibition is common to both governments, and there prohibitions are [illegible] as exist on the subject. Neither the U. States, nor any State can, for instance, pass an ex post facto law. We will suppose that a State should disregard this clause, and proceed to [illegible] try a man, under the excitement of this very question of abolitionism, for existence. A State Court, elected by the citizens who choose to disregard and the constitution decidedly with the [illegible] law sentiments, and the prisoner is to be hanged. The U. States Courts would, enquire why release such a prisoner, by means of the writ of Habeas Corpus. In other words the [illegible] means would enforce the provision of the Constitution

command to
giving up of fugitive slaves, apprentices, redemptioners, &c, comes under the third class of constitutional provisions. It is not a direct grant to the Federal government, it is [illegible] a [illegible] prohibition only in part, and it is mandatory in its essence. It is intended that the U. States [illegible] no concern with the clause, which is obligatory only on the States. That it is obligatory on the States, and that each State ought to shape its laws so as to obey it, none will conceive [illegible] of; failing of any direct authority to do so, the Federal Government would, on the [illegible] general principles of sovereign power, have a perfect right to enforce the provisions of [illegible] the constitution. That instrument, however, has a clause of broad and towering compass to any laws which may be necessary and proper, for carrying into effect every power [illegible] that is justly vested in the system it establishes. Any construction of its powers [illegible] the federal government short of this, would be a political absurdity. Nor would it probably

The import of Cooper's history of New York City can be adduced from surviving evidence, though much the most interesting and significant portions were probably never written or were destroyed. As early as 1828 Cooper had stated, in *Notions of the Americans*, that it was

> only necessary to sit down with a minute map of the country before you, to perceive, at a glance, that Nature herself has intended the island of Manhattan for the site of one of the greatest commercial towns in the world. The spirit of its possessors is not likely to balk this intention; and it may be truly said, that the agents, both physical and moral, are in the happiest possible unison to accomplish this mighty plan.[25]

In 1851, Cooper found himself triumphantly vindicated in this hypothesis and its corollaries, which in 1828 had produced "sneers, not to say derision, in certain quarters."[26] Still, he could not rank New York with London or Paris as a world capital. She was, he felt, only entering into the prosperity that an era of enormously expanding commerce would bring to her, the nation's mart. In place of the yellow-fever epidemics, which in 1828 had seemed the most serious threat to her future, he was prepared to recognize dangers of a far subtler kind.

These dangers, which Cooper discovered in the turbulence of national affairs, were analyzed at length in the Introduction to

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seeming humility that the world ordinarily exacts from individuals, to broach, at this late day, theories that are novel and not in all cases acceptable. We do not wish to be understood as affirming that our doctrines are infallible, but we simply say, that after a close and perfectly impartial investigation we firmly believe them to be worthy of reflexion and if such is haply to be their fate of refutation. At all events, we give them to the public, with an honest desire that they may be examined and appreciated at what they may happen to be worth."

A second omission, Cooper's last discussion of the Anti-Rent controversy, is reproduced on pages 123–126 from the page proofs at Yale. These proof pages are numbered xxix-xxxii, the omitted portion beginning with the last sentence of page xxix and ending with the first paragraph of page xxxii. This omission from the published versions of the Introduction occurred at the end of the first paragraph of page 43, as the text is printed in *New York*. The corrections in the page proofs are probably Susan's. The third omission consists of pages xli and xlii of the page proofs at Yale, which are reproduced herein at pages 127 and 128. There are also two pages in Cooper's hand in the Yale Cooper Collection which may have been drafts of portions of the Introduction. They were not included in the final text but are reproduced herewith to complete recordation of the unpublished fragments of his *Towns of Manhattan*. See pages 118 and 119.

[25] *Notions of the Americans* (London: 1828), I, 150.

[26] *New York*, 11.

Towns of Manhattan. In brief, Cooper had come to believe that Constitutional processes were being abrogated in matters of the greatest moment, either because of some original defect in the Constitution or because the unsettled, undeveloped state of the country encouraged or even required "looseness of law, legislation, and justice."[27] The result, to Cooper, seemed a naked conflict of interests in which issues were settled by extra-legal pressures. The Anti-Renters of New York State had succeeded in obtaining legislation by which their leases could be converted into mortgages at their landlords' deaths. The South, quite unconstitutionally, to Cooper's mind, insisted on its right to extend the institution of slavery to the territories. Any serious disruption in the national economy, particularly a civil war, would have dire effects on the prosperity of New York City, Cooper pointed out; but he was so convinced of the ability of aggregated wealth to take care of itself that he supposed any reverses would be temporary.

Having considered possible objections to his thesis of the coming glory of New York City, Cooper devoted the first chapter of his text to a description of her geography. Its function, obviously, was to establish in the reader's mind a graphic and spacious picture of the scene of action. The history proper began with the second chapter where Cooper discussed in an informal, selective manner the earliest Dutch settlement, precariously situated with the English on the south and east. The connected story, as we have it, ends almost as soon as it has begun, occupying only pages fifty-two through fifty-six; but surviving fragments of page proof for later portions of the book indicate that Cooper devoted at least thirty-two pages to the Dutch settlers in the first half of the seventeenth century.[28] The pace was leisurely and the pro-

[27] *New York*, 48.

[28] The page proof in the Yale Cooper Collection is evidently from three different stages of the book: (1) fragments of page proof on bluish paper of pages 75, 80, 81, [82] and 83; (2) page proof of pages xxix–xxxix, xli–xlii, and three fragments: (a) leaf with top torn off containing text later printed on p. 48–49; (b) bottom half of p. [61]; and (c) top six lines of p. 62; (3) proof (?) printed on both sides of pages xii [*i.e.*xli]–xlii, and [43]–56, constituting the complete signature "4." For this information I am indebted to Mr. Donald C. Gallup, Curator of the Collection of American Literature at Yale.

gress not rigidly chronological. Cooper allowed himself space to philosophize, to give statistics on trade and population, and to penetrate historical byways. The result would have been popular history in the best sense.

The subject of *Towns of Manhattan* was to have been, clearly, the development of New York City as a trading center. The theme was a particularly happy one for Cooper to have chosen in 1850–1851; its attraction at the time was both intellectual and imaginative. Commerce, stripped of its petty details and a sordid consideration of profit, had long appealed to Cooper's imagination by the sweep and magnitude of its operations. In *The Water-Witch* and others of his romances, he had found it a source of interest in metaphor and romantic characterization. Intellectually, Cooper was troubled in 1851, as he had always been, by the moral implications of the profit motive; but he had concluded that in the prevailing chaos of national life, commerce, which required the preservation of order for its existence on any scale, was the best hope. It was decidedly preferable, he felt, to anarchy or dictatorship. The instinctive distrust of trade was at least palliated, and Cooper's critical faculty was freed to work in harmony with his creative faculty in embodying his theme. That he found it exciting to speculate about how the towns of Manhattan would one day be joined by a grand network of docks and bridges is clear, and it is perhaps our loss that we cannot enter more fully into other details of his vision.

Here, in facsimile, is all that remains of the body of Cooper's last work and of those unpublished portions of his Introduction which exist in page proof.[29] The page proofs of *Towns of Manhattan* reproduced here are slightly enlarged. The original type page, including the running head, measured approximately 166 by 93 millimeters as against the facsimiles' 175 by 102 millimeters.. The fragments of page proofs 61, 62, 75, 80–83, reproduced on pages 143–145 herein, are, of course, reduced.

[29] Those portions of the Introduction which are preserved only in manuscript will be found in full on pages 117–120 above—partially in the two manuscript facsimiles and the rest in the quoted matter of note 24.

we cannot see that he is not equally entitled to lay his hands on all the other progeny of the popular will. In a word, the doctrine would seem to be not only weak, but absurd; and we find a difficulty in believing that any cool-headed and reflecting man can feel the necessity for refuting it.

But other dangers undeniably beset the country, that have no connexion with this question of slavery. However repugnant it may be to the pride of human nature, or the favorite doctrines of the day, there can be little question that the greatest sources of apprehension of future evil to the people of this country, are to be looked for in the abuses which have their origin in the infirmities and characteristics of human nature. In a word, the people have great cause to distrust themselves; and the numerous and serious innovations they are making on all sides, on not only the most venerable principles in favor with men, but on the divine law, must cause every reflecting man to forebode a state of things, far more serious than even that which would arise from a separation of the States into isolated parts.

The particular form in which this imminent danger is now, for the first time seriously since the establishment of the government, beginning to exhibit itself, is through the combinations of the designing to obtain a mercenary corps of voters, insignificant as to numbers, but formidable by their union, to hold the balance of power, and to effect their purposes by practising on the wilful, blind, wayward, and, we might almost add, fatal obstinacy of the two great political parties of the country. Here, in our view, is the danger that the nation has most to apprehend. The result is as plain as it is lamentable. In effect, it throws the political power of the entire Republic into the hands of the intriguer, the demagogue, and the knave. Honest men are not practised on by such combinations; but, with a fatality that would seem to be the very sport of demons, there they stand, drawn up in formidable array, in nearly equal lines of open and deriding hostility, leading those who no longer conceive it necessary to even affect the semblance of respect to many of the plainest and most important of the principles of social integrity that have ever been received among men. It would be easy to illustrate the truth of what we now say by many instances that should

cause the whole nation to hang their heads in sorrow, but we will confine ourselves to one—a fact so indisputable, of principles so totally untenable, and of consequences so atrociously unjust and dangerous, as not to admit of serious controversy. We allude to anti-rentism, and to the condition of helpless decrepitude to which in practice it has reduced the government of the boasted State of New York. For thirteen years civil process has been annihilated within the limits of some half a dozen counties of this State, in a class of cases of the plainest principles of legal justice, setting the government, the courts, the legislature, and the great body of the people at defiance. It is a sad commentary on poor human nature, that the political party, which, right or wrong, has ever boasted itself as the most conservative in the country—which points with exultation to its wealth, its intelligence, and its integrity, forsooth—has, in fact, manifested the greatest want of principle in connexion with this subject, and the most obvious submission to the lowest and most degrading of the motives that can ever be admitted into the counsels of men.

There is not a question that a plain, well written proclamation, emanating from the executive chair of this State, "calling a spade a spade," branding the nefarious combination to rob with the terms of opprobrium that in a moral and legal point of view they so richly merit, and pointing out to those who have never considered the subject with the seriousness it requires, would at once arouse public attention to the magnitude of the dangers connected with a further neglect of this corrupting, corrupted, and foul attempt to undermine the moral feeling of the community. Such a proclamation, sustained by the legislation necessary to band a body of one hundred active and well-commended police officers—men resolute to execute the laws of the land—would remove this reproach from the escutcheon of a state now disgraced and rendered contemptible in the most sacred of all its duties. There are no terms of reproach that the language can afford which ought not to be heaped upon the heads of those who have reduced the community to this condition of helpless submission to combination that has not a single just, or rational, or morally tenable argument to sustain it.

Some there are, who, deluded by sound, rather than led by sense,

feel, or affect to feel, that what they term the yeoman has privileges beyond those of any other class of citizens. He should not be a tenant, forsooth, but should be his own landlord; he is too simple, too industrious, too honest, in a word, too virtuous to be brought within the limits of legal protections that suffice for the wants of other men. The courts, and the laws, and justice administered, as it is for the rest of the nation, will not suffice for him. He has claims of a higher order, that are to be found beneath the plough, the harrow, and the hoe, which do not affect the interest of the mechanic, the merchant, and the landlord. In a word, in the midst of a community that is for ever boasting of its equality, this yeoman is to form one of a privileged class, and is invested with all the privileges of aristocracy, though wanting in its ordinary aspects of refinement and intelligence.

Now, fortunately for the merits of this case, these anti-renters have abundantly illustrated the character and magnitude of that virtue and those simple home-bred qualities that compose their distinctive claims to special consideration in the most ample and satisfactory manner. They rob, they outrage, they openly set the laws at defiance, and they even murder in the plenitude of these extraordinary claims to an exemption from human infirmities! Is it necessary to reason on such abuses? or can there really be an honest man in this whole community who is the dupe of the audacious social fallacies that have been dragged into the discussion of this subject?

Lamentable indeed, however, has been the malign influence of anti-rentism on the politics of the State. Governor after governor has broken down in the discharge of his duties, and we look in vain for that stern exercise of official functions that once marked the career of the fathers of the Republic. In this respect there has been little to choose between the elect of either of the two great parties of the country. Every individual, without a solitary exception, who has been brought to the test of public virtue in the management of anti-rentism has left in his official footsteps the indelible impression of having neglected his duty in order to propitiate votes. This truth is as undeniable as any moral proposition that can be advanced in the face of public sentiment. And yet, that sentiment rests as quiescent as if the laws were enforced, the functions

ries of justice protected in the exercise of their duties, and the state redeemed from the dire disgrace that now darkens its escutcheon. Bad as this state of things obviously is, we have not yet stated the worst. Vicious and corrupt legislation has been dragged within the circle of the malign influence of a corrupt combination of electors, and even in the administration of justice do we see proofs of its yielding to a power that contains the certain seeds of the fruit that is eventually to poison the institutions of the whole country.

Any one familiar with the condition of Europe must know, that under the pressure of society in that quarter of the world, and towards which we are fast tending by a rapid accumulation of numbers, that the present institutions of America, exercised under the prevalent opinions of the day, could not endure a twelvemonth. That which is now seen in France rendering real political liberty a mere stalking-horse for the furtherance of the projects of the boldest adventurers, would inevitably be seen here; the bayonet alone would be relied on for the preservation of the nearest and dearest of human rights. There could and would be no other security for the peace of society, and that circle of power which, rising in the masses, ends in the sceptre of the single despot, would once more be made as it might be in derision of all our efforts to be free.

If the existence of nations resembled that of individuals it would not be difficult to foretell the consequences of this state of things; but communities may be said to have no lives, and are ever to be found occupying their places and using the means assigned to them by Providence, whether free or enslaved, prosperous or the reverse. No one can foretell the future of this great country, in consequence of the extent and number of its outlets, each a provision of Providence to put a check on revolutions and violence.

The elements of a monarchy do not exist among us; the habits of the entire country are opposed to the reception of such a form of government. Nor do we know, that bad as our condition is rapidly getting to be, strong as are the tendencies to social dissolution, and to the abuses which demand force to subdue, that anything would be gained by the adoption of any substitute for the present polity of the country to be

care of themselves. Should it be found necessary to combine, especially in order to achieve this security, the combination will certainly be made, and every hour increases the force necessary to carry out the objects and schemes of such a system. The great emporium, consequently, is not likely to be very seriously affected by any of the great political changes of the next century.

There is a feature connected with the growth of New York, to which we have not yet alluded, and which we think will have a strong negative influence on the quiet prosperity of the place. We mean its utter exemption from all the political combinations of the country. The capital of nothing but of commerce, no legislation will be very likely to interfere with the natural course of its prosperity. We do not think that the seat of government will be likely to be removed from its present position for a long time to come, if ever. Certainly not, should the Union continue to pay the members of Congress the present rate of mileage, which, after all, makes but a very indifferent compensation, if the people would only send representatives fit for their stations. But should Saint Louis succeed Washington, it does not follow that any other place can ever succeed New York. The Empire State, though often manifesting injustice and a narrow jealousy of her great and flourishing towns, in her own questions of internal policy, such as that of taxation, assessments, and those of grants and necessary local privileges, will take very good care that her single but magnificent mart shall suffer no very serious wrong, from national interference or national policy. She is there as a species of shield, taking an honest and natural pride in the progress of her offspring, if offspring the latter can really be termed, when each hour increases her means of giving back to her own community quite as much as she receives. The money of the towns at the mouth of the Hudson is finding its way into every valley, and to the summit of every mountain-top in the State, demanding in exchange supplies of the most familiar and minute character, giving additional value and a certain sale to every pound of butter that is churned, and to every egg that is laid. To show the influence of places like New York on the pecuniary conditions of the interior, we

will simply state that of the latter article, just mentioned, considerably more than a million are transported to the mouth of the Hudson for consumption, having been picked up in the shops of the county in which we live, or gleaned by those who are termed egg merchants, from the farm yards of the district. The same is true of nearly every article of household consumption, and the interior of the State is just beginning to feel, by means of its railroads, the beneficial consequences of so close a communion between itself and its Capital. A few years since no one thought of transporting from the interior any but the heavier and more valuable products of the farm; but to-day, scarcely a gift of the land can be named that has not obtained a positive and remunerating value by the intimate connexion created between the extremities and the heart of society by means of the recent uses of the plank and the rail.

It is in this way a country becomes knit together, and the intimate union of the most familiar interests is certain to maintain the connexion let the course of politics be what it may. With these preliminary remarks, we propose to proceed to the consideration of the details of the subject we have taken in hand.

THE

TOWNS OF MANHATTAN.

CHAPTER I.

POSITION OF THE PORT.

The towns of Manhattan are situated at the mouth of the celebrated Hudson. Removing the islands, we should find at this point of the coast a spacious and semicircular bay, extending from Sandy Hook at the southwest to Throgmorton's, or, what is vulgarly termed Throg's Point, at the northeast. The Hudson pours its waters into this basin at a point about one fourth distant, following the circuit of the bay from its latter extremity. The bay itself receives many minor streams that are of material service in conveying heavy produce, such as hay, wood, coals, market-stuff, timber, and stone to the different towns. These streams are the Shrewsbury, the Passaic, the Raritan, the Hackensack, &c., &c. The Hudson, running nearly due north, penetrates the mountains, at a distance of about fifty miles from its mouth, carrying the tide rather more than a hundred miles farther. This noble stream is navigable fully the whole of this distance, and most of it for vessels of burden. Its water is brackish for nearly

half the way, though in the freshets of the spring it may be drunk, even as low as the outlet. Such is the general character of the local position of the places we propose to describe. Were it not for the islands, no harbor of any importance would exist at this point of the coast, unless within the river itself. But two fine districts have been placed by nature in insulated positions directly in front of the mouth of the Hudson, leaving three passages between them and the main land. The water is everywhere of available depth, and the anchorage generally secure. The great bay first mentioned is thus subdivided into two parts; the one embracing the harbor, and bearing the name of its principal town, New York, and the other known as the Raritan, from the river of the same appellation which it receives. The last is the largest, but the first, nearly circular in form, has a diameter varying from six to eight miles. As a matter of course, many minor curvatures of the coast form little harbors on the outlines of both these bays, but the inner estuary of that which bears the name of New York is the only one that is usually regarded as composing its harbor. The extent of this basin necessarily divides the port into two parts, or more properly into three, the river, the bay proper, and an arm of the sea, which separates the largest of the two islands from the main, and which is falsely termed the East River, in distinction to the Hudson, which is termed, in common parlance, the North River.

This arm of the sea is the true Golden Horn of America. Most of the commerce of the place is carried on within it, and it forms much the securest basin that is to be found in the whole of this noble bay. Bearing the name we have mentioned as far as Throgmorton's, some twelve or thirteen miles from the towns, it expands into what is termed Long Island Sound, which separates the island of Nassau from the

main land. This Sound extends considerably more than a hundred miles further east, and communicates with the ocean at a cape known as Montauk.

The two great islands which give its entire character to New York Bay, are Staten and Nassau, names derived from the original possessors, the Dutch, and which are still retained. The latter, however, is not in familiar use, having as substitute the more intelligible but homely expression of Long Island. The three passages to the sea are the Kills, the Narrows, and the Hell-Gate, the last lying on what is termed the East River. The Kills are a narrow, crooked, but practicable communication between Staten Island and the coast of New Jersey. They are rarely used by vessels going to sea, though crowded with craft plying between the neighboring rivers and the wharves of the towns. The Narrows are the ordinary outlet for vessels bound in and out between the port and the ocean. Its width is about a mile, and there is water sufficient for anything that floats. The Hell-Gate passage would be also perfectly available were it needed; but owing to the greater distance and the strength of the tides in these narrow waters, it is rarely resorted to by sea-going craft, coasters excepted.

By this description, the reader will at once perceive the affluence of the towns at the mouth of the Hudson, in the facilities necessary to a noble port. The river itself would be esteemed, and, in fact, would be, an unusually convenient and extensive haven; but adding the arm of the sea so often mentioned, the upper and lower bays, we get every variety of maritime accommodation necessary to commerce and known to the wants of mariners. The shipping of the whole world might lie securely in these waters without being crowded; and one accustomed to ships, and aware of the hazards they run in insecure situations, never tires of con-

lating these great advantages, and of appreciating their consequences.

New York proper lies on a narrow, long island, that is separated from the main by a shallow passage of only a few feet in width at its northern extremity, while its southern makes the point where the Hudson pours its waters into the bay. It is this island which properly bears the name of Manhattan, an appellation derived from a tribe of Indians, who were found in possession of the spot when the Dutch made their first establishments in this part of the world. There is a local distinction familiar to all who know the town thoroughly, which gives a different meaning to the "Island of Manhattan" and "Manhattan Island." The first embraces the whole island, containing the city and county of New York, while the last means a small space in the vicinity of Corlear's Hook, that once had a sort of semi-insular character.

Williamsburgh occupies a point on the verge of a bay known as the Wallabout, on the margin of Long Island, and nearly opposite the spot last named. The East River, a passage of about half a mile in width, separates it from the old town, while the bay mentioned lies between it and the adjacent city of Brooklyn. These two last named places, however, are fast approaching each other, and will shortly be merged in one.

Brooklyn, also on the island of Nassau, at its western extremity, lies directly opposite to the old portions of New York, and is expanding more to the southward, or down the bay, than the limits of its island will permit the latter ever to do.

Jersey is a small city that is growing up on a point across the Hudson, directly opposite to the lower wharves of the old town. Its distance from New York embraces the entire

width of the river, and is just a mile, while it lies within the territory of the adjacent State of New Jersey.

Each of these four places has the corporation of a city, with its mayor, aldermen, police, and means of justice, and united as they are fast becoming in interests and communications, in the sense of trade and business, they properly form but one mart. The population of the whole at this moment is not far from 700,000, of which New York has more than half a million, Brooklyn more than 100,000, and Williamsburgh and Jersey the remainder.

Most of the late emigration to this country has been made directly to the port of New York; it is by no means an unusual thing for several thousands of Europeans to land on the wharves of the town in a single day, more especially in the spring and early summer months, all bent on transferring their future homes from the old to the new world. Great and discreditable abuses have been practised on this country by means of the immigration. Not only have paupers, persons incapable through physical defects of supporting themselves, been thrown upon our shores, destitute, and appealing to American charity for the food that is to keep them from starvation, but to the shame of those who have practised it, there is much reason to think, criminals also. It may be safe for an insignificant German prince, intrenched among his confederated states, one or two hundred leagues from the ocean, thus to get rid of his surplus rascality, but no community should be ever permitted to practise this wrong on another, without having its dishonorable purpose exposed and condemned. Far better would it have been had the Republic met these practices with vigorous and manly remonstrances to those German states which there is reason to think have thus violated the national rights and insulted the national character, than to have been fishing for popular political capital

among the ill-advised and insufficient revolutionists of Hungary, a nation with which this country has scarcely any natural or artificial connexion.

Although many expedients have been resorted to to relieve New York from the presence of this foreign population, it still weighs upon the town not only in the way of heavy pecuniary burdens, but by an extra accumulation of disease, squalid misery, and death. We trust, however, that one good result must flow from it; hereafter, no prince of Europe can ever set up the doctrine of inalienable allegiance, and that, after having rescued from starvation and death hundreds of thousands of their famishing children, we may be permitted to feed, clothe, educate, and send upon the ocean, if it suit our purposes, their quondam subjects, fully protected by the mantle of the stars and stripes. There has ever been something offensive to natural justice in the claim of England, for instance, to the services of those we have hitherto thus reared to the ocean. But to so great an extent has the policy of emigration been carried by that nation of late years, as really to have rendered this feature of the now obsolete right of impressment one of national importance. It is true there is little to apprehend under any circumstances of renewal of an attempt on the part of England to re-assert, in practice at least, her right to extend the operation of her municipal law beneath the flag of a foreign nation on the high seas, the power of the Republic now rendering the experiment too hazardous. But it is well to remember all the obvious proofs that environ the theory of the odious practice. Intolerable it is, and ever has been, and ever must be, to every independent nation; and we trust the time has at length arrived when it is to be blotted out of the practices of the sea.

Recurring to the port of New York, the reader will perceive by a glance at the map affixed to our introduction, that

the whole Atlantic coast of the great State of New York, with its population of more than three millions, is confined to the limited district around the mouth of the Hudson. This, however, is with the exception of the shores of the islands; the general configuration of the state is triangular, and while the frontier, which lies along the hypothenuse, is mainly bounded by the great lakes and their connecting waters, giving a sufficiency of harbors in that quarter of the territory, there seems to be a concentration of all the rest of the trade of this powerful community at the point just named. No one, however, ever hears a regret expressed by any citizen of what is rather illogically termed the Empire State,* that he does not possess more Atlantic coast, every one feeling that in commanding the jurisdiction over the mouth of the Hudson he has his full share of the commercial facilities of this hemisphere.

In addition to the advantages already described, the towns of Manhattan enjoy a position in reference to the coast of the whole country that is peculiar to themselves. In the first place, the port is central as respects the commerce of the entire country. In one sense it may be said to be central as respects that of many countries. Thus, the West India trade, the whole of the cotton trade, and nearly everything that comes out of the Gulf of Mexico, following the course of the gulf stream on its way to Europe, passes within two or three days' run of Sandy Hook. Once clear of the bar which

* By *empire* we have always understood that species of imperial sovereignty which brings more than one state within the control of a single central power. Thus, Great Britain is an empire, because she has three kingdoms within her government; Austria and Russia the same, &c. The impropriety of affixing this term to a single community like that of New York is much like that of using the favorite expression of "Commercial Emporium," as if an emporium could be anything but commercial.

lies a league or two without this celebrated natural breakwater, the outward-bound vessel has very little to contend with in its passage into the open ocean. Even with a southeast wind, which is the most adverse that can blow, by making a few short stretches close in, such an offing is obtained as will carry a craft clear, upon one tack or the other, for a range of some thirty or forty leagues. There is but one serious danger to apprehend—the shoals that lie off Martha's Vineyard or George's Banks; but these are so distant and are so well known at present, that losses on them are of very rare occurrence. Wrecks off New York are certainly much more frequent than they ought to be, considering the facilities for approaching the entrance of the port. They commonly occur on the coast of New Jersey or on the outer side of Long Island. As the soundings are as regular as the roof of a shed, these calamities are commonly to be attributed to a neglect of the lead, a species of caution that, however useful or necessary, is greatly going out of fashion, under the go-aheadism of the day.

Modern improvements have, in effect, lessened the distance between Sandy Hook and the coast of Europe more than one half within the time of the present generation. A century since, ships that made one or two voyages across the Atlantic within a twelvemonth were regarded as having done great things; while to-day, the liner which consumes a month, even in coming westward, is thought to be out of time. The use of steam, however, is altogether changing the relations between the two hemispheres. New York is now fairly within ten days' run of the chops of the channel, and there is reason to hope that even this distance will yet be shortened. In a word, it would scarcely be possible for the mind of man to collect at any one point on the face of the globe, so many facilities for the purposes of com-

merce as are presented to the mariner and the merchant at the particular spot of which we are now writing. It is true, that the character of the people which are overrunning and subduing the American continent has its full share in building up this port, but nature laid its foundations, and the sagacious and enterprising men who have turned her labors to so good account are justly entitled to be included among the sources of its prosperity. With these advantages, it is not surprising that such a race, favored by a national prosperity that almost seems especially providential, as if the Divine will had some great agency to effect, using as its instrument the American people, should have achieved more than was ever before effected by the same numbers in the same time.

CHAPTER II.

SETTLEMENT OF THE DUTCH.

The first dwelling of the white man on the island of Manhattan was erected in 1613. It stood near the mouth of a winding creek which penetrated the rocks of the shore for a short distance, navigable for periaguas and other small craft, ascending almost as high into the island as the present site of Wall street. Broad street, so familiar to all acquainted with the town, followed the curvature of this street, and its unusual width, a circumstance of such rare occurrence in the seventeenth century, was solely owing to the necessity of having a street on each of its banks; the habits of the Dutch led them to cherish such a natural facility for their domestic trade. Here was a natural canal, as it might be, ready made to their hands, and the natives of Rotterdam, Antwerp, and all the Low Countries, who first peopled the spot, were not slow to seize on facilities that were so much in unison with those they had left behind them in the old world. A species of inner harbor, that was large enough to contain bay craft, lay near the mouth of this creek, where the town was first properly commenced. The extremity of the island itself was rocky and somewhat pointed, its present rounded formation being purely artificial. On these rocks, and within a circuit bounded by State, Pearl, Whitehall streets, and the area known as the Bowling Green, must have stood the original Dutch fort. We give the earliest view of that work and of

he adjacent town that is now known to be extant; probably he first of any pretensions to accuracy of execution that was ver designed. In this sketch, the reader will see the entrance o the creek, and the first town hall erected in this part of the vorld. It will be seen that our predecessors of the United Provinces did not neglect that strongest proof of civilization, he gallows.

By some of those accidents that direct the fortunes of communities as well as individuals, the English had made two great establishments on the American continent. The one, conducted by the Puritans, had settled in the vicinity of Massachusetts Bay, while the other, composed in a great degree of military adventurers, originally in quest of the gold of the Carolinas, had finally turned planters on the banks of the tide waters which are tributaries of the Chesapeake. Here they soon took to the planting of tobacco. While there were necessarily many strong points of national resemblance between the people of these two colonies, religious tendencies easily marked them by distinctions that have continued down to the present hour. Nevertheless, they were derived from the same stock, and were the subjects of the same sovereign. It was easy to foresee that a colony like that of New Netherlands, as the Dutch termed their possessions at the mouth of the Hudson, was very delicately situated between two such neighbors. The port of New Amsterdam, as that of New York was named by the Hollanders, lay so conveniently

between these two English settlements, that nearly every coaster who crossed the shoals of Nantucket found his way through the Sound to an anchorage off the rocks of Manhattan, and from a very early day sinister glances were seen to have been cast at the valuable acquisitions that were making by the possessors of the new colony along the banks of the Hudson, and most especially in connexion with the trade in furs that was soon opened to them by means of the adjacent streams. In this respect, the natural facilities of New York for the purposes of commerce manifested themselves from the earliest day, enabling the canoe and the periagua to penetrate where the wheel had never yet turned nor even the sled been dragged.

From the very first a sort of necessary intercourse was kept up between these quiet burghers about the mouth of the Hudson and their more restless visitors from the south and east. The former were satisfied, provided they could smoke and trade; but the latter, then as now, appeared never to be content with the extent of their possessions, so long as anything remained to be added to them. It was in this temper that the English easily found their way across Long Island Sound and established themselves on the greater portion of Long Island, one of these settlements under the control of a Lady Moody having actually been made near the present site of Flushing, and within sound of the guns of the Dutch fort. The jurisdiction of the island would seem, however, to have been in a species of abeyance, a portion of the people inclining to yield their allegiance to the United Provinces, while the remainder still clung to the affinities of the Anglo-Saxon race. But it will be remembered that all this was done in a perfectly new country amid the sea-shore tribes of the region, and among the shades of the forest. It was the shadowing forth, the mere outline sketches of the picture

that was to be drawn at a later day, and which has so completely lost all the traces of the Dutch school, and submitted to those of the English.

The Dutch town had most of the evidences of its origin: the houses were nearly all constructed with their gables to the street, and were built of klinkers, small, hard, well burnt brick imported from Holland. Every dwelling had its stoep, a sort of porch, provided with benches, and uniformly of wood. A few of these hospitable seats remained in the older part of

Old Dutch House in Broad Street.

the town down to a period as late as the commencement of

the present century, and were well known as places of resort among the idle. Here the staid burghers enjoyed their pipes of an evening, while their wives and daughters sat and knit the hose and mittens, that were to keep the extremities of the men comfortable in the long and severe winters of the climate.

An impression very generally prevails that the colonists originally sent to America, by the Dutch, were unusually ignorant and dull. The mass of all the settlers of a colony have commonly but little learning to boast of, and come from the base of society. As respects the Dutch of America, there is no reason to suppose that they were much, if any, below the level of their English neighbors, in this respect, though their isolated position, slowness of movement, and inattention to schools, soon lowered the standard of intelligence among their descendants. The Puritan opened his common school almost as soon as he landed; and Harvard dates from the earliest period in the history of Massachusetts, whereas the last thing that the worthy Manhattanese were thinking of, when Nichol appeared in the bays, was the establishment of any literary institution.

The Dutch of New York, however, were not without many men of respectable general information, and a few men of learning. The last were among their clergy; a class of Divines who were quite on a level with their brethren on the other side of Byram, though more disposed to conceal their lights beneath the bushel.

A singular diversity of characters existed generally, between the people of the colony of New York, and their nearest neighbors, the puritans of Connecticut. The first were sedate and composed; the last stiff, but restless. The first was early occupied with the belief, that he was morally, intellectually, physically and by inheritance, the salt of the

Unfortunately, that which is admitted to be downright knavery in individuals, obtains a certain place in the morality of nations. It is this power of mutual support, that affords countenance to so many unworthy deeds. The law of right and wrong came not from man, but are rules of conduct inherent in the Divine spirit of the Deity, and by his will transmitted for their government, to all of his creatures; no numbers, no worldly power whatever, armies, treasure, eloquence, sophistry, learning, subtleties, nor combinations of the gifted, can unsettle one of its principles, subvert its distinctness, or affect its majesty. As in physical nature, clouds pass before the sun, concealing his splendor, lessening his light, and intercepting his genial heat, so do sophisms, selfishness and the whole herd of sinister human impulses assail this Divine law, endeavoring to mistake its mandate and pervert its inferences. But, as in nature, the clouds pass away leav-

ing the great luminary of our system resplendent in light, beneficent in warmth, and illuminating earth, seas, and skies —so do the fallacies of an intense egotism get dispersed, when the moral beauty of the Divine law is seen casting its mild, but unerring radiance on the whole circle of reason and judgment.

to relieve
oreign population, it
in the way of heavy
accumulation of disease,

squalid misery, and death. We trust, however, that one good result must flow from it; hereafter, no prince of Europe can ever set up the doctrine of inalienable allegiance, and that, after having rescued from starvation and death hundreds of thousands of their famishing children, we may be permitted to feed, clothe, educate, and send upon the ocean, if it suit our purposes, their quondam subjects, fully protected by the mantle of the stars and stripes. There has ever been something offensive to natural justice in the claim of England, for instance, to the services of those we have hitherto thus reared to the ocean. But to so great an extent has the policy of emigration been carried by that nation of late years, as really to have rendered this feature of the now obsolete right of impressment one of national importance. It is true there is little to apprehend under any circumstances of renewal of an attempt on the part of England to re-assert, in practice at least, her right to extend the operation of her municipal law beneath the flag of a foreign nation on the high seas, the power of the Republic now rendering the experiment too hazardous. But it is well to remember all the obvious proofs that environ the theory of this odious practice. Intolerable it is, and ever has been, and ever must be, to every independent nation; and we trust the time has at length arrived when it is to be blotted out of the practices of the sea.

Recurring to the port of New York, the reader will perceive by a glance at the map affixed to our introduction, that the whole Atlantic coast of the great State of New York, with its population of more than three millions, is confined to the limited district around the mouth of the Hudson. This,

were made, that they had remonstrated earnestly against placing the church within the fort, giving as their reasons the circumstances that the spot was not sufficiently central, and that so large a building would make a lee for the windmill in the southeasters!

The second great accession to the population of the province occurred in 1664, or just at the close of the great war. It consisted of about two hundred persons, principally men, who were sent from Curaçoa, whither they had been driven from Maranham. This force rendered the town secure, besides adding materially to the useful laborers of both town and country. The firm possession of the whites may be said to date from this epoch, though material additions to the resources of the colony had been obtained from the east, through the migration of discontented Englishmen. As religion was the cause of most of the quarrels of that part of [illegible] traced mainly to that

the rocks that formed the termination of Manhattan, and on which the fort stood, may have had a more obvious elevation than they would now possess were the earth removed.

Nevertheless, the front presented to the bay by the town in the middle of the seventeenth century was not without a certain air of civilization. The high roof of the church, the windmill, the governor's residence, the flag-staff, and, last of all, that proof so often cited, the gallows.

Of shipping, there was not much. A few small coasters, craft of from five to [illegible] tons, usually lay in the mouth of the creek. They plied between Staten Island, the upper part of the island of Manhattan, Pavonia, a settlement of some extent on the Jersey side of the Hudson, with various other small points, inlets, creeks, and bays, and this the great port of the region. Five or six times a year, one of these coasters was seen coming down along the Palisades, before a north wind, bringing the spare products of Rensselaerwyck, or the peltries destined for Europe. A single square-rigged vessel lay anchored off the town. Fewer ships from Holland now arrived than in the earlier settlements of the colony. This fact is shown by a document that we give in a note;* and it

EXPORTS OF THE NEW NETHERLANDS.

Date.	Beavers.	Otter and other Skins.	Guilders.†
1624	4,000	700	37,125
1626	5,295	463	28,825
1626	7,258	857	45,050
1627	7,520	370	12,730
1628	6,951	734	61,075
1629	6,913	681	62,185
1630	6,041	1,085	68,012
1632	13,513	1,681	143,125
1633	8,800	1,388	91,376
1635	14,891	1,413	134,925

This document shows the increase of the trade.

† A guilder is forty cents, or two and a half for the dollar.
‡ This is probably a misprint, and should be 82,730 guilders.

is in conformity with what reason would teach us to expect under the circumstances of the case.

At the original settlement, everything necessary to the establishment of the colonists had to be transported to this remote part of the world, including the ~~colonists~~ themselves. The communication between the mother country and her western offspring, however, soon fell into that regular and methodical train that is so characteristic of the people to whom they belonged. It appears by the document given in this note, that one vessel yearly was quite sufficient to carry all that then passed between Holland and this particular offset. Peltries and tobacco were the principal articles of export, while gin, brandy, manufactured tobacco, as well as most of the more common articles known in domestic life, were sent back in return.

IMPORTS OF THE NEW NETHERLANDS.

Date.	Ships.	Guilders
1624	two	25,569
1625	several	8,772
1626	two	20,384
1627	four	56,170
1628	no imports	
1629	three	53,778
1630	two	57,449
1631	one	17,556
1632	one	31,390
1633	one	29,369
1635	one	28,875

Manhattanese. Frederick Philipse, the root of the family of that name which owned the manors of Yonkers and Philipsberg, stands highest in the list, having been assesed at 60 000 guilders. Nicholas de Meyer and Cornelius Steenwyck stand at fifty thousand; Olof Stevenson Van Cortland at forty-five thousand; and John Lawrence at forty thousand. But one other person reached twenty thousand, and few were rated as high as ten. Not one of the nabobs was yet to be found in the Bowling Green, though it was not long after that some of the most important names of the colony were established in this favorite street.

De Heer Frederick Philipse dwelt in Stone street, then much narrower than it is to-day, and De Heer Stephanus Van Cortland was his near neighbor. De Heer Abraham De Peyster lived in High street, now Pearl Street, as did Nicholas Bayard and Nicholas de Meyer, or Meyert. Some

This street was originally called De Heeren Straet or the Main Street.

forty or fifty of these persons are given as residing beyond the collect.

The earliest enumeration we have of the population of the town of New York* was in 1656, when its population was 1000 souls. In 1697 this number had increased to 4,308; and in 1731, it rose to 8,622. At this last date the colony contained only about 50,000.

* Thus we see the propriety of giving the place its ancient name of Manhattan. The confusion between the state and town causes many errors, and often much trouble.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT COMES TO MANHATTAN

by PHILIP L. WHITE*

THREE HUNDRED years ago Manhattan Island was quite young in the eyes of the European world and not at all significant. True, the Italian, Verrazano, had put into the harbor in 1524 and observed that the island had "some properties of value,"[1] but no European had stopped by again until eighty-five years later. Then, even after the visit in 1609 of Henry Hudson, a Dutch agent though an English national, only a few traders began to frequent the island with the magnificent harbor and the broad water highway into the fur-rich interior. One hundred and two years after Verrazano, came the purchase of the island for a sum reputedly equivalent to $24.00 by Peter Minuit, agent of the Dutch West India Company. The island's indigenous individualism, however, soon overcame the "company-town" nature of the original settlement, leaving the Company's governors to wrestle with the problems of wampum inflation and Indian hostility brought on in part by the excessively aggressive trading of the local residents. A disastrous Indian war in 1643 led to the replacement of the Company's incompetent local administrator by Peter Stuyvesant, with whose arrival in 1647 begins the story of the advent of municipal government to Manhattan Island's principal settlement, New Amsterdam.

Stuyvesant, the son of an orthodox Calvinist minister, was a former military commander who had proved his courage by sacrificing a leg in the attack which he had led upon the island of St. Martin in the West Indies. His devotion to the Dutch West

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[1] John E. Bakeless, *The Eyes of Discovery* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1950), 204, quoting Verrazano.

OLD NEW YORK 300 YEARS AGO

Oil painting by Dean Cornwell, N. A., 1952
Commemorating the 300th Anniversary of the Proclamation
by Peter Stuyvesant (Feb. 2, 1653) of the
Incorporation of the City of New Amsterdam—now New York

Courtesy of the New York Life Insurance Company

India Company which now sent him to Manhattan was religious and nationalistic as well as economic. This combination of loyalties arose because the Company, representing both government and private interests, was the chosen instrument for carrying on in the Western Hemisphere the not-yet-concluded war of the Protestant Dutch for independence from Catholic Spain. In addition to its purely military activities the Company was also expected to gain revenue for the Dutch nation by preying upon Spanish commerce as well as by managing such trading or colonial enterprises as that upon Manhattan Island. In 1647, however, the company was in a bad way. In contrast with its East Indian counterpart it had been losing money for years, and peace with

Spain in 1648 was to leave it little function save that of managerial agent for the Dutch settlements of the Western Hemisphere, of which those on the southern continent were by far the most important.

The island of Manhattan may not have contributed much wealth to the contemporary "Golden Age" of Holland, but Nicasius de Sille, a highly literate emigrant from the parent country, found the island quite refreshing. Describing it to a friend in 1654 he wrote:

> This country suits me exceedingly well. I shall not try to leave it as long as I live. . . . [It] does a large trade in furs, especially beavers, which are sold to us by the savages by the thousand for Dutch merchandise. All the people here are traders. . . . It goes here in the manner of the Old Testament; wealth consists in oxen and horses to plow with, and in cows, sheep and goats. . . . Children and pigs multiply here rapidly and more than anything else, but there is a lack of women. The rivers are full of fish, good edible fish. . . . Oysters we pick up here before our fort. . . . The weeds consist mostly of strawberries, catnip and blackberries. . . . In fine, one can live here and forget Patria. Beer is brewed here as good as in Holland, of barley and wheat. . . . No gold or silver circulates here, but beads, which Indians make and call sewant [wampum]. The women of the neighborhood entertain each other with a pipe and a brazier; young and old, they all smoke. . . .[2]

A less flattering report issued at about the same time from the pen of the veteran French-Catholic missionary, Father Jogues, who had fled from Indian torturers to find sanctuary with the Dutch. At New Amsterdam he found a fort "to serve as a commencement of a town," but the fort's bastions were mere mounds of earth, badly crumbled at that. One could walk in anywhere. There were but sixty soldiers to man this run-down establishment as well as the one up-river at Albany. Inside the fort were a church, government house, storehouses, and barracks. Around the island were some four-hundred to five-hundred people of various nationalities, speaking in all, it was said, eighteen different languages.[3]

[2] I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498–1909*, IV: 148 9.
[3] J. Franklin Jameson (ed.), *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609–1664* (NY: Scribners, 1909), 259–61. Father Jogues' visit was in 1643.

At Stuyvesant's coming in 1647 there was no government on the already polyglot island other than that of New Netherland as a whole. This territory, including Delaware River settlements as well as those of the Hudson River area, was subject, according to rather vague instructions from the West India Company, to the rule of a "Supreme Council." Composed of the Director (Stuyvesant) and two other Company officials, this body was to "administer and decide," in Company parlance, "all occurring affairs relating to police, justice, militia, the dignity and just rights of the company."[4] Specific administrative responsibilities were assigned also to each of the three. Other members of the Council were soon added, apparently at Stuyvesant's discretion. Also, in accordance with Dutch tradition for which there was some local precedent, Stuyvesant agreed to permit the commonalty to elect eighteen men from whom he and his Council would select nine to confer with them on governmental problems, particularly revenue matters, and to share in some measure the burden of administering justice to the litigious populace. Six of these nine were to retire annually and to be replaced by the Director and Council from among twelve nominated by the full board at its last meeting of the year.

For the most part, however, these forms of government were merely forms. Stuyvesant did as he pleased and initially he pleased to administer a reform movement such as the island has all-too-seldom seen and all-too-often needed. He revised fencing laws to cut down the damage to property by wandering stock, constructed the island's first pier, appointed official surveyors, made and enforced stringent fire laws, tightened the laws against the sale of intoxicants to Indians, required those who employed Indians to pay them promptly so that no grievances might arise on that score. Furthermore, he levied an excise on imported wines and liquors to help pay for repairs to the fort and for the construction of the pier; he demonetized inferior or damaged sewant, cracked down on smuggling, and restricted trading privi-

[4] Edmund B. O'Callaghan (ed.), *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, I: 160–162, 495–511.

leges to those who had lived at least three years on the island. Finding also that the people were "wild and loose in their morals" and given to cheating, fraud, and the "clandestine sale of beer and brandy," Stuyvesant set about correcting them. Warned by his Holland superiors, however, that "a tree grown too high . . . must be trimmed carefully," he made mollifying qualifications to his Sunday prohibition law, banned only the opening of new taverns, required only that brawls be reported to him by tavern keepers. He was adamant in insisting that all persons attend preaching from the word of God in the afternoon (Sunday) as well as in the forenoon.[5]

Against this record of accomplishment unfortunately there must be weighed a comparable list of charges levied against the Director-General. When the "Nine Men" objected to the imposition of further taxes to finance repairs to the fort, Stuyvesant peremptorily dismissed them and appointed others "according to his whim and caprice."[6] He forbade the commonalty to assemble and arbitrarily imprisoned Adrian Van der Donck, one of the deposed Nine Men, for no other reason than the expression of political opinion. He fired Council member Van Dyck, a Company appointee, who countered with a battery of charges. The Governor's councilors, Van Dyck asserted, were virtually his pensioners and "must always conform to the humor of the Director, and say nothing else but Yes; otherwise the purse is closed, all favor missed and they get beaten in addition if the Director's head be not well, or he be not sufficiently well pleased." Van Dyck also reported that the Director "did not hesitate to transact a great deal of business" without reference to either of the other two who had been vested with administrative responsibility along with him. "In matters wherein I was recognized, which only seldom happened," continued Van Dyck, "his Honor was pleased frequently to burst into a violent rage both against [the other member] and me, if we in our advice did not fall in with his

[5] Stokes, *op. cit.*, IV: 110–114; O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, XIV: 83; Berthold Fernow (ed.), *Records of New Amsterdam*, I: 9; Maud W. Goodwin et al., *Historic New York* (NY: 1897), 78.

[6] O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, I: 495–99.

humor, scolding and berating us in open Court, in the hearing of all the contending parties and applicants both within and without the Council Chamber, as rogues and robbers of the Honorable Company."[7] Furthermore, another complainant alleged in 1649, the Governor's conduct in court was such that "many dare not bring any suits before the courts if they do not stand well or passably so with the Director."[8]

Fortunately for the sake of representative government on Manhattan, these and many other protests concerning Stuyvesant's conduct found their way to the States General, the sovereign legislative body of the Netherlands. When Stuyvesant exiled to Holland as an example to others the two leaders of the protest-movement against his predecessor, their cause received a sympathetic hearing from the legislators. So, too, did the lengthy remonstrance of Adrian Van der Donck compiled in secret consultations with various community leaders and carried to Holland by a delegation under Van der Donck's leadership. To these protests as well as those of Van Dyck, the deposed member of the Council, the representatives of the community added others which arrived from New Amsterdam with almost every ship.[9]

From 1647 to 1652 the States General received protests against Stuyvesant without feeling required to take decisive action. By 1652, however, a new factor had arisen which apparently compelled a reconsideration of the problem. This was the imminence of war between England and Holland as a consequence of the English Navigation Acts of 1651. In America this would offer excellent opportunities for the aggressive, land-hungry English colonists, then numbering 18,000 in Massachusetts alone, to overwhelm New Netherland with its mere 3,000 souls, including infiltrated Englishmen of doubtful loyalty. It was imperative that New Netherlanders close ranks in the face of this potential conflict.

To achieve the harmony it sought within New Netherland

[7] *Ibid.*
[8] *Ibid.*, 307.
[9] *Ibid.*, 440–52.

the States General at first considered recalling Stuyvesant. Influenced perhaps by his military experience as well as by his efficiency, the legislative leaders determined, later, to retain him, but compelled the granting of reforms calculated to pacify the opposition. Chief among the reforms so granted was the establishment of the municipal government demanded for New Amsterdam by Van der Donck and his fellow delegates. A recalcitrant West India Company required much persuasion, but its offices at last issued the necessary orders, April 4, 1652. War with England broke out July 8th.[10]

As it came from Holland, the new plan called for the powers of local government to be vested in two burgomasters (co-mayors would be the nearest English equivalent), five schepens (equivalent to aldermen-at-large), and a schout (sheriff). Presumably the people initially were to elect a double number for each of these positions and from these candidates the Governor in Council would make appointments. Then, before the annual retirement of some portion of their number, the board of burgomasters and schepens would nominate again a number twice that of the expected vacancies and from those nominees the Governor in Council would name replacements for those retiring. These authorities were to have, as do their modern-day successors, a qualified legislative, judicial, and administrative authority within their territorial limits. These limits of the city as then defined extended up the island as far as "the Fresh Water," a pond at the present site of the Criminal Courts Building, 100 Centre Street, not far north of City Hall.[11]

As set forth by Stuyvesant on February 2, 1653, the municipal-government plan was somewhat different from that which his superiors had prescribed. He himself named the burgomasters and schepens without reference to popular opinion and without any form of nomination. He also decided that the schout of New Netherland should perform the duties of municipal schout.

[10] John Romeyn, Brodhead, *History of the State of New York* (NY: 1859), I: 513ff; O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, I: 471–2; Stokes, *op. cit.*, IV: 132.

[11] Stokes, *op. cit.*, IV: 132–137; Broadhead, *op. cit.*, I: 548ff; Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, *History of New York in the Seventeenth Century* (NY: 1909), I: 328–29; O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, XIV: 169.

FIRST CITY HALL (1653–1697) OF NEW AMSTERDAM AND NEW YORK
Redraft by J. Carson Brevoort from original by Jasper Danckaerts, 1679–80
Lithograph by A. Hayward & Co., 171 Pearl Street, N. Y. C., 1867

To fill the municipal offices Stuyvesant named Arendt Van Hattem and Martin Kregier, burgomasters, and Paulus Leendertsen Van der Grist, Maximilian Van Gheel, Allard Anthony, Willem Beeckman [William Beekman], and Pieter Wolfersen Van Couwenhovan, schepens. On February 6th these gentlemen met in the old tavern, rechristened Stadt Huys (City Hall), and, impressed by their volume of business, resolved to meet regularly thereafter each Monday morning at 9:00 A.M.[12]

Although much of the time of the burgomasters and schepens was consumed in hearing petty litigations, they also fulfilled the hopes of the States General by aiding in some measure the preparation of defensive installations against the English. "Contri-

[12] Stokes, *op. cit.*, IV: 135–36; Fernow, *op. cit.*, I: 49.

butions" for the defense of the city were levied upon the wealthier citizens of the town in amounts varying from 50 to 200 florins within six weeks of the board's first meeting. On the day after this assessment two of the schepens were elected to join with one of Stuyvesant's Councilors in administering the work of preparing local fortifications. In carrying out its duties the group set specifications and let contracts for the erection of palisades around a part of the town.[13]

The initial harmony between Stuyvesant and the municipal officials whom he had chosen soon terminated. At the end of July the Governor called upon the city authorities for additional financial aid in furtherance of defensive preparations. With somewhat keener sensitivity to popular feeling, the burgomasters and schepens respectfully declined to impose further on the citizenry. Furthermore, they called in a number of the leading townsmen and, probably without much trouble, induced them to resolve unanimously that, having already expended nearly double the amount of their original commitment, the citizens of New Amsterdam should not be called upon to make additional payments until the Director "surrenders the whole excise on wines and beer." This tax, paid directly into the coffers of the West India Company, had long irked the inhabitants. They now sought a guarantee for the application of its full proceeds to the needs of the municipality. Audaciously the citizens concluded that were the revenues from this source to prove inadequate for the completion of the fortifications, they would "*consider* measures to raise more." [Author's italics.] Whatever the impact of this effrontery on Stuyvesant's incendiary temper, he kept his self-control. Having little more wish to engender a revolution in the face of possible enemy attack than he had to surrender the excise, the Governor declined the profferred resignations of the municipal officials, made concessions on the excise, and quietly collected funds by suing Company debtors before his very opponents as they presided in municipal court.[14]

Having fought to a draw in their first encounter with the

[13] Fernow, *op. cit.*, I: 66–69.
[14] *Ibid.*, 92, 103ff, 128.

Governor, the city fathers were encouraged to do battle again that winter. Although suffering less than Long Island, Manhattan dwellers had recently been victimized by the very successful pirate and horse-thief, Thomas Baxter. Finding that a "General Assembly" had been called by the Governor and Council to discuss means of combatting this menace, the burgomasters and schepens elected two delegates to meet with representatives of other towns. The meeting quickly assumed a more revolutionary aspect when delegates from the predominantly English towns of Long Island urged that payment of taxes to the Company be stopped on the ground that no protection had been afforded citizens against robbery. It was even urged that New Amsterdam and Long Island towns form a protective union of their own. More moderate counsel prevailed, however, and the meeting adjourned until December 10th when it was hoped representatives from additional towns would join in framing a general letter of protest to Stuyvesant's Holland superiors.[15]

Stuyvesant was brazenly asked to issue the call for the December meeting and apparently he did so, although later he was to declare that he had merely been informed that it was to take place and that he might "do what he pleased and prevent what he could." The question of the robberies, however, was now completely abandoned as the delegates moved on to higher issues. The convention quickly adopted a remonstrance, signed by nineteen delegates, five of whom were the burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam. Bluntly it stated "our apprehension of the establishment of an arbitrary government among us," while more humbly it asserted: "one of our privileges [is] that our consent or that of our representatives is necessarily required in the enactment of . . . laws and orders." The remonstrants were indignant, too, that officers and magistrates, however well qualified, were appointed "contrary to the laws Netherland . . . and without the consent or nomination of people whom the matter most affects."[16]

[15] *Ibid.*, 131; O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, XIV: 218–225.

[16] O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, I: 550–2 and XIV: 239; Fernow, *op. cit.*, I: 131–2. The delegates claimed, too, that "Natural Law" gave men the right to gather "for the

On December 12th Stuyvesant's Council declared the assembly illegal in that it had exceeded the authority granted by the Governor and Council. Next day the entire membership of the assembly signed a declaration asking an answer to the remonstrance and deriding the charge of illegality. On December 14th Stuyvesant repeated the charge of illegality and ordered the individual delegates by name "not to assemble any more but to separate under pain of our extreme displeasure and arbitrary correction." The delegates went home.[17]

Having won the war of nerves, Stuyvesant discreetly chose not to press his advantage over the burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam. He made no immediate changes in the local government, and when in January the two retiring schepens were replaced by direct appointments of the Governor in Council without the nomination of a "double number" by the incumbent officers, the men selected were highly acceptable both to the citizens and to other members of the city government. When the Holland authorities were heard from, Stuyvesant's hand was further strengthened. They charged him to "mete out due punishment" for what had happened and pointedly reminded the New Amsterdam remonstrants of the existence of war with England, rendering their action "very much out of place." For the future, decreed the Holland authorities, Manhattan's burgomasters and schepens were to "behave quietly and peacefully, to obey the authorities placed over you and by no means to join with the English . . . in holding conventicles, either for the sake of deliberating affairs of state, which is not your business, or, which is still worse, to make changes in the province and its government." Thus vindicated, Stuyvesant and his Council sagely resolved on June 21, 1654, "not to make further inquiries into what the burgomasters and schepens have done and not to make for the present any changes among them."[18]

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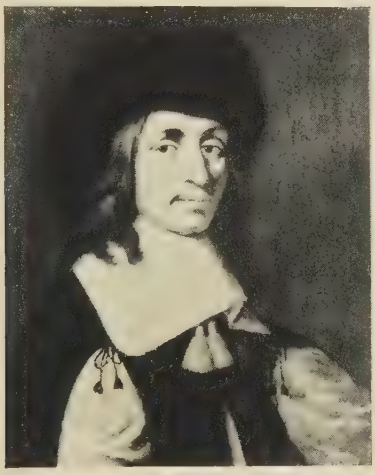
welfare and protection of their freedom," but Stuyvesant found this perplexing. To him its seemed that "authorities are appointed for these purposes, but not all men generally for that would create confusion."

[17] O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, I: 553, and XIV: 232–38.

[18] *Ibid.*, XIV: 244, 262–66, 280.

In this uneasy spirit Manhattan continued to know a qualified municipal government for some years to come. In January 1655, the five remaining of the seven remonstrant burgomasters and schepens were quietly "purged" as the Director and his Council, without nominations, "elected and chose" the new appointees. But next year when nominations were permitted Stuyvesant found himself faced with a list headed by the very men whom



CORNELIS STEENWYCK (d. 1684)
Last-named New Amsterdam Burgomaster,
signed capitulation of 1664, and
became third Mayor of New York, 1668
Painted at New York in 1660's
New-York Historical Society

he had deposed the year before. Demonstrating his strength by changing the rules once again, Stuyvesant nevertheless appointed to office one of the remonstrants, William Beekman, whom he found a "reasonable and proper" person. And so the truce between the city of New Amsterdam and the provincial authorities continued until 1664 when the reign of Stuyvesant was ended by the Duke of York. The deposed burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam were soon succeeded by a mayor and aldermen of New York.

A BRITISH WHIG'S REPORT FROM NEW YORK ON THE AMERICAN SITUATION, 1775

Edited by J. E. Tyler

Senior Lecturer in Modern History
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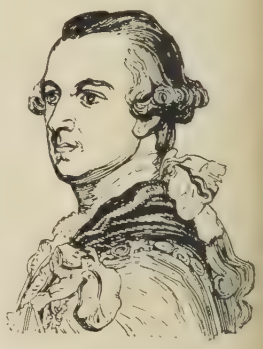

ROCKINGHAM†

THE LETTERS printed below are among the papers of the 2d Marquis of Rockingham, twice Prime Minister of England, which were recently deposited in the Sheffield City Libraries.[1] They are part of a small group of documents which were put together by Lady Rockingham, probably when she was arranging her husband's papers after his death in 1782. These documents all deal with the state of Colonial public opinion and popular feeling during the spring and early summer of 1775 and were available to influence the attitude of Rockingham and his supporters in opposition to the North ministry towards the American policy of the government at this critical juncture in Anglo-American relations.

Lady Rockingham's endorsement of these letters is simply "Mr. Murray" and on the folder which enclosed both these

† Charles Watson Wentworth, 2d Marquis of Rockingham (1730-1782), whose conciliatory policy toward the American colonies secured the repeal of the hated Stamp Act during his first administration as Prime Minister (1765–66), was a leader of the Whig opposition to the North ministry at the period of these letters, succeeded North as Prime Minister in 1782, and died three months later—before his policy of negotiating peace on the basis of American Independence could be effected. The woodcut is from Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, VI: 31, which credits Doyle's *Official Baronage*, III: 170.

[1] Documents from the Rockingham Collection at Sheffield are printed here by courtesy of the Earl Fitzwilliam and his trustees of the Wentworth Woodhouse Estates Co. Rockingham, it will be remembered, headed the government from July 1765 to May 1766, and again from March 1782 until his death in July of that year.

letters and the other papers in this small collection, she describes them as "Mr. Murrays & Ly Kat . . .," the rest of what should be "Katherine" having been torn off.[2] But from this and from evidence in the letters themselves (*e.g.*, the fact that he had formerly sat in the House of Commons) it is possible to identify the writer as James Murray, of Broughton, M.P. for the shire of Wigtown (1762) and for the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright (1768–1774).[3]

He was the only child of Alexander Murray, of Broughton and Cally, by his wife Euphemia Stewart, second daughter of the 5th Earl of Galloway. In 1752, he married his cousin Catherine, eldest daughter of the 6th Earl of Galloway—the Lady Catherine to whom reference is made in these letters. By her he had a daughter, Alicia, who died in infancy at Rome. His presence in America in 1775 was probably due mainly to the state of this child's health.

Murray was an old friend and political supporter of Rockingham. As early as 1762—thirteen years before the date of these letters—the latter had been at some trouble to help Murray to obtain a seat in the House of Commons. In the 1761 election Murray had been defeated in Wigtownshire by John Hamilton of Bargeny, but had disputed the election. On February 11, 1762, Rockingham wrote to Lord Galloway suggesting an arrangement by which Murray would become member for the county in Hamilton's stead, Captain Stewart R.N., Galloway's second son, would receive a post-ship in return for vacating his Wigtown boroughs seat, and Galloway would bring in Hamilton for the Wigtown boroughs which he controlled.[4] Later, in No-

[2] The letters are R 150–5 and R 150–8 in the Collection at Sheffield. I am responsible for the punctuation of the versions printed here, since the originals have practically none. I have not altered the wording in any way; words in brackets without ? supply obvious omissions, those so placed with ? are suggested readings for words which I have been unable to decipher.

[3] He should not be confused with the much better known *John* Murray of Broughton. Cf. R. F. Bell's introduction to his edition of the *Memorials of John Murray of Broughton* (Edinburgh: 1898), xiii.

[4] It was necessary for Stewart to vacate the Wigtown boroughs in order to make this arrangement possible. He was actually succeeded there by Hamilton on April 15, 1762. Papers relevant to this transaction, including a draft of Rockingham's

vember 1773, when Rockingham was actively organizing resistance to a proposed tax on absentee Irish landowners, he thought it worth while to write to Murray with a view to his working on Earl Gower, who, in 1768, had married Murray's wife's sister, Lady Susan Stewart, as his third wife.[5] Another of Murray's sisters-in-law, Lady Charlotte, had married in 1759 the 4th Earl of Dunmore, who, as Governor of Virginia, was becoming involved in serious difficulties with his colonial subjects at the very time when Murray was in America. This American connection may have been a further reason for Murray's going there; though his remarks in the second letter about inciting negroes to revolt do not suggest that the Governor's policy would have met with his approval.

James Murray, however, not only had useful social connections and the ear of important political friends; he was also in his own right a man of enterprise and ideas. Indeed, he is chiefly remembered today for his foundation of Gatehouse-of-Fleet and his pioneer industrial efforts there. Of these the most important was the establishment of cotton mills. In 1790 he induced the Yorkshire firms of Birtwhistle & Sons and Thomas Scott & Co. to establish mills at Gatehouse and English workpeople were brought over the Border. These efforts, it must be said, failed and Galloway was not destined to become one of the centers of Scottish textile manufacture. But they show Murray "moving with the times" and fully aware of the opportunities offered to the speculator by the developments which were now transforming Britain. It will be noticed that in these letters he dwells on the

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letter to Lord Galloway, are in the collection at Sheffield under R 92. Boswell was acquainted with Murray and his Stewart brothers-in-law; see the *London Journal* (ed. F. A. Pottle, London: 1950) under December 1762.

[5] Murray was himself an absentee Irish landowner. Among Rockingham's papers concerning the tax proposed in 1773 is a list of estimated absentee rentals. In these Murray's reply to the proposal (which he declined) is R 3–54 (Nov. 11, 1773). In 1761, Lady Susan Stewart was lady of the bedchamber to the Princess Augusta. (*Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox*, ed. the Countess of Ilchester and Lord Stavordale, London: 1901, I: 40.)

disastrous economic effects that war would be likely to have; and though he must have known that such considerations would be likely to carry weight with Rockingham, he was himself, no doubt, fully alive to their importance.

On the American question in general Murray was clearly as liberal in his views as Rockingham and his associates. But the interest of these letters does not reside simply in the impressions which an intelligent observer of this type gained at a critical moment. As was suggested above, along with the other items in this small collection of papers put together by Lady Rockingham, they were among the first American advices received by her husband during the weeks which followed Lexington. Indeed, one reason for grouping them in this way may conceivably have been that she recalled their character and so their importance in this sense.

Certainly, whatever may have been the case with those who held office in Britain at this time, there is no reason to believe that Rockingham and his friends ever imagined that the troubles in America were trivial and might be settled forcibly in one short, sharp campaign. On the contrary, what Murray had to say concerning the state of affairs across the Atlantic can only have reinforced the effect of impressions already received, or to be received, from other sources.

Murray strongly urged efforts at conciliation. Possibly, however, he was a little optimistic as to the basis on which, at this late hour, it might be achieved. For instance, he felt as sure that the colonies "would contribute, and handsomely too, towards the expense of government in the old-established way by requisition to their own assemblies" as that North's "late indefinite proposal" would never be accepted. But one is bound to ask whether the differences between these two "plans" were fundamental enough to warrant his opinion. The same criticism might also be applied to Murray's belief that harmony could be restored if negotiations were undertaken by "wise and prudent men upon the plan of the

re-establishment of their ancient forms of government." This is indeed a vague phrase; and there was certainly much in what might have been construed as the "ancient forms of government" which by 1775 was no longer acceptable to the Americans. His remarks, too, in his second letter where he rejects "parliamentary taxation," but writes, vaguely again, of securing to Britain "a certain large fixed annual revenue," also leave a good many doubts in the mind.

In both letters, Murray is obviously at pains to dispel the idea that the real object of the Americans was independence. He probably felt that if this were suspected in England, hopes of conciliation would be faint indeed. He may even have been doubtful about Rockingham's own reactions in such circumstances. Still, the impression which he apparently gained in June and July 1775 that the Americans were not thinking in terms of secession from the Empire is interesting. It is very doubtful, of course, how sound his verdict on this matter could possibly be in view of his brief stay and the sort of contacts he was likely to make. The Americans whom he met were probably diffident, in any case, about expressing views on this delicate subject to a British visitor of some consequence.[6] Moreover, Murray was in or near New York, not Boston.[7] Nevertheless, the Declaration of Independence was still a year in the future and the great debate between Radical and Conservative was as yet undecided either in Congress or outside it.

Perhaps the most striking feature of these letters to the present-day student of the American Revolution is the apparent failure

[6] Especially if it were known that his wife's sister was married to John Murray, the Earl of Dunmore. Dunmore was well known in New York, having been appointed governor of New York in 1769, actually administering the office from October 19, 1770, to July 9, 1771.

[7] On June 12, 1775, the New York Provincial Congress was protesting that it did not aim at independence. Early in August the New York Committee of Safety passed two resolutions against the implication that the Colonies intended independence. (Allen French, *The First Year of the American Revolution*, Cambridge, Mass. 1934, p. 443.) Similar instances could, of course, be cited for other colonies; but Murray was in or near New York and moderate views were certainly prevalent there.

of the writer to appreciate fully the effect of the actual outbreak of hostilities. Thus Lexington is merely the "late unhappy affair," and Bunker Hill, "another action at Boston." Arriving in America after April 19th, Murray was not, perhaps, in a position to measure such an effect. No doubt only an American could. But Rockingham himself had probably already received, through Burke, a quite different and, one would suggest, a sounder opinion before Murray's letters arrived. In the collection of Burke's papers now in the Sheffield Library there is a letter[8]—also, as it happens, from New York—dated May 4, 1775, in which the opinion is quite frankly expressed that Lexington had destroyed all hopes of conciliation.

On the whole, therefore, the letters printed below probably do more credit to Murray's heart than to his head. It should be pointed out, however, that Murray's estimate of the American situation accords well with the conclusions of some American scholars, as, for instance, with Oliver Morton Dickerson's judgment that the Colonists were well content with the old (pre-1763) imperial system and, by their loyalty during the Seven Years' War, had demonstrated a willingness to provide adequate revenues through requisitions to their Assemblies—that what they most desired was, as Murray put it, "the re-establishment of their ancient forms of government . . . upon fair constitutional principles, at least upon such principles as till of late were always acknowledged [to] be the principles of their constitution." Support of Dickerson's thesis that smuggling in the Colonies was insignificant* cannot, on the other hand, be found in Murray, if indeed his remarks do not implicitly contradict it. All in all, the following letters should prove a welcome, if limited, addition to the evidence previously available to students of the eve of the Revolution.

[8] Bk. 459.

* Oliver Morton Dickerson, *The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951), reviewed by E. Marie Becker in *NYHS Quarterly*, October 1952, pp. 475–479.

MURRAY TO ROCKINGHAM, FROM LONG ISLAND, N. Y., JUNE–JULY 1775[9]

My Lord,

As you are always so kind as to interest yourself in my little concerns, I doubt not but that it will give you pleasure to hear that my endeavours for the recovery of my poor girl [have] been pretty successful. She is indeed greatly better and we flatter ourselves our voyage to Europe, which we hope to undertake in two or three weeks, will quite confirm her health.

We arrived at New York the 18th of last month after a voyage of 39 days from Madeira. The people are very hospitable and obliging and formerly it was said to [be?] a very agreeable place to live in, but now much the reverse.[10] So we soon enquired for a little habitation in the country and have got a very pleasant one ten miles from New York, upon Long Island, close to the sea, the air very fine and the country delightful; not exceeded, I assure your Lordship, in beauty of land or water prospect by any place I ever saw in England forty miles from London. So here we mean to rest for a few weeks before we attempt to cross the western ocean again.

Your Lordship is, I know, so well informed from this part of the world that it [is] unnecessary for me to say much of the present unhappy situation of the country; but, being upon the spot, I cannot help troubling you with a few lines to tell you that it is with much satisfaction that I reflect upon the votes that I gave in Parliament on the many American questions that were agitated while I was in the House, for I now see with my own eyes the unhappy consequences of the wild and destructive plans adopted by our ministers. The irretrievable ruin they have brought upon Boston [by?] the late restraining bill,[11] added to many other vexatious proceedings, has so irritated the minds of almost all sorts of people here, that I am much afraid the coolest and best [minds?] in England will find it a very difficult task to devise a reasonable and fit plan of accomodation. Yet, notwithstanding all that has happened, the general voice is peace and friendship with England *upon fair and equitable terms* and I do believe nothing is more false than that idea which is propagated at home of their intention to disjoin themselves from the Mother Country and establish a separate government of their own. I can easily see that it may answer the purpose of the ministry to have this story believed at home; but I am

[9] Rockingham Papers, Sheffield City Libraries, R 150–5-1–2 (June 3, 1775) and R 150–8–1–2 (July 18, 1775).

[10] Thus New York had not yet become uncomfortable for British visitors since the outbreak of hostilities. Why it was no longer "agreeable" is not clear.

[11] He could mean either the Boston Port Act or the "Fisheries" Act of February 1775, though the latter was not directed only against Boston.

persuaded no such plan has yet been in contemplation here. What repeated acts of violence and invasions of their ancient and acknowledged rights may do in time, no man can say; [but, even?] now, I have not a doubt but the colonies would contribute, and handsomely too, towards the expense of government in the old-established way by requisition to their own assemblies. But Lord North's late indefinite proposal[12] I am convinced they never will agree to. He may send ships and block up their ports and ruin their trade, the bad effects of which I dare say will soon be severely felt at home; that, I apprehend, will only further provoke, and produce no change of sentiment in the people at large. And if he expects to starve them into compliance, he is but ill-informed of the rich productions of this vast country. All the necessaries and many of the much-esteemed delicacies of life they have in the greatest abundance, without being beholden to any people on earth. Fine cloths,[13] wines and sugars they have not, but [it's?] not to be supposed that, if this unhappy dispute continues, the French will long be so inattentive to their own interest as not to supply them with those articles. And if our minister thinks he is to guard America so effectually as to prevent smuggling, he must know as little of its coasts and rivers as he seems to do of the tempers and numbers of its people.[14] And as to troops, I cannot conceive that we can spare such a number as can be able to force submission. Their resources in men are very great and I can assure your Lordship that their militia[15] that I have seen make a very good appearance and are as well-appointed in all respects as any regulars and for [acting?] in this country may perhaps be little inferior. The late unhappy affair near Boston[16] has shown that the notion of the provincials not fighting is very erroneous, and their surprising and taking Ticonderoga and Crown Point also proves that they have pretty good planners among them likewise. So seeing this woeful matter in the light that I do, and from my sole wish to see this unnatural and unfortunate war at an end, which never can be carried on but to the infinite loss of both countries and, in many respects, more to the prejudice of Great Britain than this, and though the mischief has grown to a most alarming magnitude, I am convinced that still, if wise and prudent men

[12] North's well-known plan to effect conciliation with the Colonies was put forward in February 1775.

[13] In view of Murray's later industrial interests, it may be that one reason for his visit to America was to investigate prospects of an export trade.

[14] He might, of course, have said the same of any attempts to prevent smuggling in the Colonies either before or after the efforts of George Grenville.

[15] Murray could not at this date differentiate between "Continentals" and "Militia" in the same way as was done at the time of Trenton by Thomas Dowdeswell, the guards-officer. (See my note on Dowdeswell in the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, January 1952).

[16] The Battle of Lexington.

(not the abusers and vilifiers of America) were authorised to negotiate upon the plan of the reestablishment of their ancient form of government, matters might yet be adjusted without further bloodshed and mutual affection and cordiality restored between the Mother Country and the colonies which, if carefully cherished, would make us the greatest and richest nation upon the face of the globe. Whereas the ruin of thousands both at home and here, disgrace and disappointment and a prodigious increase of debt must be the baneful consequence of perseverance in the present ruinous system, a speedy alteration of which ought to be the wish and prayer of every well-wisher for the prosperity of the British Empire and it is, most heartily and sincerely, mine.

Lady Catherine[17] and I beg leave to join in offering our best respects to my Lady. May everything that is good ever attend you both for, in the new world the same as in the old, I have the honour to be, with the most invariable regard and attachment,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's much obliged [etc.],
Jas. Murray.

Long Island, near New York,
June 3rd. 1775.

I have just heard from a merchant come from New York that an express arrived there yesterday from Boston with an account that two troops of Borgoyns regiment were entirely cut off just on their landing by the Provincials.[18] A sad business altogether and much mischief must ensue if a speedy accomodation does not take place. And still the blood of British subjects must be shed, whichever side prevails, if the chance of war must decide the unfortunate contest. Once more, my worthy Lord, ever yours etc., J: M.

Long Island near New York
July 18th 1775.

My Lord,

I have too long experienced your goodness and friendship to doubt of your being pleased to hear that my girl is very well, so we intend to sail for Gibraltar in a few days and from thence we mean to go to Naples and there pass the winter. And, some time next summer, I hope to get upon

[17] His wife, *i.e.*, Lady Catherine Murray.

[18] The 16th Light Dragoons were at first popularly known as "Burgoyne's Light Horse." Murray had probably read an exaggerated version of the affair at Grape Island or the later action on Noddle's Island. Cf. the account of the latter quoted in *Diary of the American Revolution* by Frank Moore. (New York: 1860), I: 85.

our island never more to quit it while I exist, unless perhaps to go to Ireland sometimes.

I am sorry I am not able to send your Lordship any news from this country that can be agreeable to you. From the treatment the last application from New York[19] met with, people here conclude that no mode of solicitation for redress of grievances will have any regard paid to it and that Great Britain is determined, either to have no more connection with these colonies, or to reduce them to that state of subjection that they must pay whatever taxes we may think proper to lay upon them. This I am very confident they will never submit to till they have nothing to pay, and before we can bring them to that situation our own resources will be pretty thoroughly [exhausted?] and the object unattainable. Before your Lordship can receive this, you will have heard of another action at Boston[20] in which you will be told that the King's troops have been successful. General Howe, with his usual bravery and good conduct, certainly did force the Provincials from their entrenchments and got possession of the ground they occupied; but, as their situation was very strong, they defended it long and with more firmness and bravery than Lord Sandwich[21] and Mr Rigby[22] will probably allow. It undoubtedly has been a very dear bought victory, for I heard, and from authority I cannot doubt, that the army has had 22 or 24 officers killed and near 60 wounded and not much short of 1400 officers and privates killed and wounded. Indeed, this differs very little from the provincials' account published two days ago, so I am afraid it is too near the truth. The reason why so many officers fall is that there are amongst the provincial troops a number of surprising marksmen, who shoot with rifle guns, and I have been assured many of them at 150 yards will hit a card nine times out of ten. These fellows' business it is to pick out officers; and though those people in fair [action?] would signify nothing, yet over breastworks, or where they can have the advantage of a tree for a rest, (and that they may have every twenty yards in this country), the destruction they make of officers is dreadful.[23] And if [the] ministry are determined to persevere in this shocking business, I am convinced the army will be reduced to a very small number indeed before this campaign is over, and thoroughly

[19] The petition of January 1775; not read as calling in question the rights of Parliament itself.

[20] The Battle of Bunker Hill.

[21] The 4th Earl of Sandwich (1718–1792); 1771, First Lord of the Admiralty.

[22] Richard Rigby (1722–1788); one of the "Bedfords" in the House of Commons; hence the soubriquet "Bloomsbury Dick."

[23] This reaction by the British to the marksmen's accurracy and execution explains Washington's recommendation that Congress provide the troops with hunting shirts because, as Washington said in his General Order of July 24, 1776, ". . . it is a dress justly supposed to carry no small terror to the enemy, who thinks every such person a complete marksman."

persuaded I am that all the troops we can send from home never can effectuate the purpose of their coming. There are, by the best information I can get, in the different colonies this day one hundred and twenty thousand men (General Lee says a hundred and fifty), well-armed and all under some sort of discipline; those people fighting, (they think,) for everything that men hold dear and valuable, supplied with every sort of subsistence to profusion and in a country, every yard of which they know, the King's troops in a country they do not know, and where they can find no guide they dare trust, living on salt provisions under a burning sun to which they are not accustomed. Even here, where it is not near as hot as at Boston, I assure your Lordship I am now sitting in a thin linen waistcoat, all the windows to the sun shut, and so overpowered with heat that I am sure I could not march three miles with soldiers' clothes, firelock etc. if it was to gain me a kingdom. And I daresay General Gage has a thousand men in his army not so strong as I am. So, with his small number, under all these disadvantages, how the wicked planners of this mischief and the bewitched people of England can suppose he is to beat such superior numbers, I cannot conceive. But they will soon, very soon, see their error. I only wish they may have honesty and humanity enough speedily to give up the desperate project and restore peace and tranquillity to an honest, spirited, industrious people who, if treated as they deserve, and as sound wisdom and good policy dictates, would prove a never-failing source of riches and strength to Great Britain which, when cordially united with her colonies, no power upon earth can hurt. As to that false idea, industriously propagated by ministerial tools, that the colonies wish [to] erect themselves into separate independent states, I am convinced it does not exist amongst them in contemplation. Even, on the contrary, I am as sure as that I live, if your Lordship or Lord Chatham was properly authorised and empowered, either of you could accomplish a thorough and complete reconciliation in three or four months time and secure to Great Britain a certain large fixed annual revenue. But by Parliamentary taxation, without the gift of prophecy, I will venture to foretell not one shilling will ever be obtained, and this country must for a time be ruined and our most valuable branch of commerce lost for ever. Such must be the certain consequences of the measures now pursuing with America and no better can attend them, for they were begun in rapacity and have been persisted in with pique and resentment without consideration had to the strict [fair legal?] right, circumstances or situation of the colonies. I hear for certain that the plan for raising the Canadian papists and Indians and bringing them down upon the old colonies will not do, nay, that they have positively refused to take arms against their neighbours, and also the scheme of getting the five Indian nations to commence hostilities has failed and that they have refused to take up the hatchet.[24]

[24] As early as June 1774, Lord Lyttelton had suggested in Parliament the use of the Canadians against the Colonists, and in September 1774 Gage discussed with Carleton

And likewise the other laudable plan, said to be forming in Carolina, to bring about a revolt of the slaves, has misgiven.[25] Gracious Heavens, my good Lord, what Gothic woeful policy, what infernal plans! O England, justly famed for liberal principles and generous manly sentiments! Sure such hellish plots could never be formed in [thee?]! But be the schemers who they may, these matters are firmly believed here and has dreadfully added to former disgusts. Yet, inflamed as the people of this country are, by repeated violence and the strongest marks of disregard to their most humble petitions etc., being completely arrayed with every power for the longest and most obstinate defence of what they understand to be their rights, yet, as I said before, I am thoroughly convinced if we are wise enough to hold out the olive branch, [*even still?*] it will be received with joy and a cordial union brought about upon fair constitutional principles, at least upon such principles as till of late were always acknowledged [to] be the principles of their constitution.

I ask pardon for being so tedious, but I know no man in England more heartily wishes the welfare and tranquillity of his country than your Lordship. And I, though an insignificant private man, who never can have it in his power to be of the smallest service to the public, yet it has my hearty good wishes. And living in this unhappy, I think injured country at present, I cannot help telling your Lordship what I see and hear, hoping that in this deplorable and dreadful crisis your wisdom and moderation from the imperfect picture, though not exaggerated, I have given you of matters here may form some conciliating plan for [settling?] the dispute which if not soon, and very soon too, adjusted, will exhibit such [scenes] of blood and innumerable distresses as our country never experienced.

Lady Catherine and I beg leave to join in presenting our best respects to your Lordship and my Lady. Our girl always expresses the most grateful sense of her Ladyship's goodness to her and I have the honour to be at all times and in all places with invariable regard and attachment

My Lord, your Lordship's [etc.]

Ja^{s} Murray.

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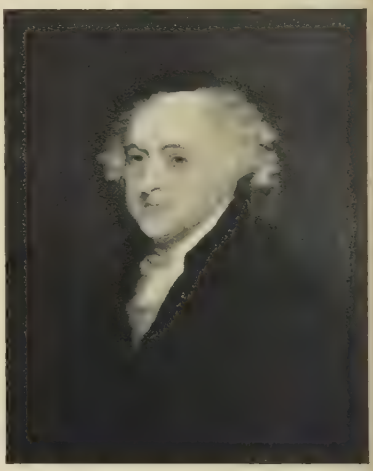
the possible use of Canadians and Indians in New England and did so again two days after Lexington. Murray was too positive about the attitude of the Iroquois, since Congress was writing to them only a few days before this time urging them to keep quiet. On the whole subject of the Canadians and Indians, see French, *op. cit.*, Ch. XXVI.

[25] Here again, Murray was probably dealing in rumours. His own brother-in-law, Dunmore, actually offered freedom to slaves belonging to "rebels" who would join him; but this was in November, and in Virginia. Nor does Murray specify here which "Carolina" he had in mind. Moore (*op. cit.*, I: 104) quoted a newspaper report (July 24th) which suggests that in Charleston there were fears about the negroes who "had all high notions of their liberty."

DUTCH-AMERICAN RELATIONS DURING THE REVOLUTION

by BENJAMIN HUNNINGHER*

WHEN, on July 4th, 1776, the Continental Congress proclaimed the Declaration of Independence, the republican form of government was still a rare phenomenon in the world. The small city republics of Italy which arose in mediaeval times had been highly aristocratic and absolutist. But the Swiss Confederation and the Union of The Netherlands, both acknowledged as independent republics by the Peace of Westphalia (1648), were considered democracies by 17th-century standards. Yet the first state to recognize the new-born republic of the West was neither Switzerland or The Netherlands—but that bulwark of 18th-century absolutism, the kingdom of France. Not until six years after American independence had been declared did The Netherlands accept John Adams as the minister of a sovereign state—and even then, despite the fact that the two republics were fighting a common enemy, only with great reluctance.



JOHN ADAMS (1735–1826)
1st U.S. minister to Netherlands
After original by Gilbert Stuart
Gift of Thomas J. Bryan, 1867

This seems very strange—the more so since the American

* Dr. Hunningher, who is Queen Wilhelmina Professor of History, Language and Literature of The Netherlands at Columbia University, addressed members and guests of the Society on February 3d. The paper which he read on that occasion, entitled "Two Republics," is the basis of the present article.

Revolution resembled so closely that of the Netherlands of the 16th century. In the beginning both had been movements of resistance against the imperial policy (of England and Spain respectively) of misusing subject provinces as tools of power and sources of revenue without any regard for the real interests of those regions. Both revolutions started with difficulties about taxation. Neither at first aimed at independence. In both cases negotiations were attempted before recourse to arms, and then both peoples had to accept the fact that a movement of political resistance had changed into a hard and devastating struggle for independence. However desperate the situation of The Netherlands was in 1581, the States General finally discarded the old fiction that they were not fighting their sovereign but only the bad advisors of the sovereign. And on the 26th of July they proclaimed their Act of Abandonment, later wrongly termed "the Abjuration." Therein they stated that "the subjects are not created by God on behalf of the sovereign, but the sovereign on behalf of the subjects, without which he would not be a sovereign at all . . .; that if he does not act like a father, but suppresses his subjects, then these subjects, especially by deliberations of their States [*i.e.*, their representatives], have the right to abandon him." Is that not very similar to what was written in the American Declaration of Independence: that "governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed," that "whenever any form of government becomes destructive of those ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it"?

But there were differences, too, which help to explain why The Netherlands failed to accept the American Revolution with enthusiasm and to support the new republic with alacrity in 1776 instead of with reluctance in 1782. In the Dutch Act of Abandonment no mention is made of equality of men from which their government springs, but only of a ruler created by God on behalf of the subjects. After all, the Dutch revolt was not only a fight for the country's interest; it was also a religious war,

originally a war for freedom of conscience. In the course of that fight it was especially the Calvinists who came to the fore as they, more than the others, were willing to sacrifice life and property, accepting no compromise. The result was that the Calvinists influenced the character of the Dutch state, but not so much as they had hoped for. The Reformed Church did not achieve domination over the state, but it was the only official church. With the House of Orange it formed the few ties that bound the seven Provinces together politically and internally. For Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland felt as independent of each other as Maryland, Massachusetts, and New York did in the first decades after 1776. The famous Union of Utrecht of 1579 was even less a constitution than the American Articles of Confederation of 1777, being only a treaty of alliance, by which several Dutch states pledged to fight together against the enemy and never to make a separate peace. But what would happen when the war was over? It remained an academic question because soon other enemies turned up. After Spain, it was England; after England, France. And, during the 17th and 18th centuries, the Church and the House of Orange formed the elements of unity, in peace and in war. True, as the years passed, new ideas came with new times in Holland as well as elsewhere: Descartes fled to The Netherlands; Spinoza was born and lived there; both laid the foundation for rationalism, which finally came to full bloom with Locke and Montesquieu and found practical embodiment in the American Declaration of Independence. Nevertheless, though a rationalistic element is undeniable in Calvinistic theology, it remained basically opposed to rationalism and its off-shoots, such as deism. For that reason the American Declaration of Independence, with its strong reflection of rationalistic philosophy, did not sound very agreeable to the ears of the upright Calvinists in Holland, and perhaps as a result of that, not very agreeable either to the Prince of Orange. So, in 1776, there was a powerful party in The Netherlands which listened with deep distrust to the messages from the other side of the ocean.

And that explains to some degree the reluctance to form closer ties.

But the Prince of Orange had more reasons than these. For that we have to go back again to the Act of Abandonment. Cautiously, and with purpose, it had been stated there that the people had the right to abandon an oppressive sovereign "especially by deliberation of their States." Since the 13th century, these State councils, representing the nobility, the clergy, and the towns or rural districts, had been convoked by the sovereign to agree on matters of taxation, and later he convened meetings of all these provincial states, called "States General." In the revolt against Philip of Spain and his Catholic absolutism, the clergy had disappeared, the nobility had lost most of its importance, and the separate State councils, as well as the States General, were mainly formed by the cities. Soon after the abandonment, they considered themselves the proper sovereigns of the country.

A democratic system of government? Certainly for that time; but not for generations accustomed to universal suffrage. The people themselves had no influence whatever. It was the city councils that appointed the representatives, and these councils were formed by cooptation: they chose the new members themselves. Since the 13th century, the guilds had tried to break in, but without result. The propertied class held the reins of government firmly and did not tolerate any interference from below. Only the Prince of Orange could take over, because in 1581 the sovereign right of dismissing the city council members had passed on to him. On one hand, he, as Stadtholder, was appointed by the State councils and was thus their servant; and, on the other hand, he was their overlord, because the representatives of the city councils formed the Provincial States, and the representatives of the Provincial States in turn formed the States General. So this restricting remark "especially by deliberation of their States" was quite understandable.

The men who drafted the Act of Abandonment were well aware of the social tensions. They had not forgotten the Ana-

baptist Revolution of 1535, nor the Iconoclastic Riots of 1566, which resulted mainly from starvation, unemployment and poor working conditions. They were careful in wording their act, so that the unpropertied mass would not find arguments for rebellion therein—as careful as were the authors of the American Constitution, who saw to it that the Negroes could not find any argument against slavery in their document. Was it not good advice that John Adams gave to his son, John Quincy, when he said, "study mostly the Dutch"?

This governmental system, based on cooptation, developed in the 17th and 18th centuries a closed caste of ruling burgher families. These, of course, stressed the federalistic character of the republic, because the Union encroached upon the provincial sovereignty in which their power lay. They formed the States Party which by nature was opposed to the binding elements in the Union: the Calvinist Church and the House of Orange.

In other respects also, the House of Orange was their opponent, because the sovereign right to reform the city councils was a permanent menace to the omnipotence of the ruling caste. As long as the Orange dynasty consisted of powerful men and strong leaders, the States Party was quite helpless. But it received its chance on the death of William III, Stadtholder and King of England, who died childless in 1702. (And it was a good chance, for William had induced The Netherlands to participate in his great European policy of balance with not too much regard for its proper interests and possibilities.) He had entirely changed the country's foreign policy. As the son of Mary Stuart and as the husband of another Mary Stuart, he had acceded to the English throne after borrowing the navy of the Dutch Republic, thus bringing the "Glorious Revolution" to Great Britain. Half willingly, half unwillingly, the Dutch were involved in an alliance with their trade rival and former enemy, England, against the absolutist Louis XIV of France. The small republic was compelled to maintain itself as a large power. And no matter how glorious that might have been, in the long run it over-reached its strength.

Repercussions followed William's death. The States Party rapidly seized its opportunity and nobody could object. "The policy of William III of Orange has nearly ruined the country," they said, " and only an exclusively national policy can bring relief." William's heir and nephew, belonging to the Frisian branch of the Nassau family, was appointed only as Stadtholder in the province-state of Friesland. The rest of the Republic could dispense with Orange. The alliance with England, however, still existed. It was responsible for a series of conflicts with France, and, finally, during the Austrian Succession War, for a direct attack from the south. The ruling caste had neglected all means of defense, as it had been too busy gratifying its uncurbed selfishness at the cost of the commonwealth. The war's distress in 1747 put the people in commotion, the States Party was overruled and the Frisian Prince of Orange was inaugurated in all the dignities of his ancestors. In this emergency so much power was bestowed upon him that he in fact was a king in a republic. But William IV did not at all understand the true character of the movement that had put him into power. Conservative to the bone, he reluctantly dismissed in a few places the most notorious members of the city councils, appointed other conservatives to their places and for the rest left things as they were. But the leaders of the movement that had secured this power for him had done so in the expectation that he would use it rightly to change fundamentally the state of the Union. They wanted a state based on the ideas of democracy as these had developed at that time. No more than the leaders of the French Revolution were they aiming at universal suffrage; participation of the middle-middle class in the government was enough for them.

Greatly disappointed with William IV, they now turned against him and formed an impracticable alliance with the leaders of the States Party. This so-called Patriots Party had both a progressive and an extremely conservative wing, but for the time being they were united in their animosity against the House of Orange. After William's death, his wife Anna, a daughter of the English King George II, ruled on behalf of her infant son; and,

of course, the ties with Great Britain were even closer. In 1764, this son, William V, came to—we cannot say the throne, but it was not much less than that. He was a man with a good mind, as conservative as his father, but in contrast to him very lazy, easy-going, and a reveler. He hated taking responsibility and making decisions. He remained entirely and gladly dependent on his old tutor, the German nobleman, Ernest van Braunsweich-Wolfenbüttel, the so-called "Fat Duke," who in reality ruled the country until the calamities which partly resulted from the American War of Independence made the Duke an impossible man.

And here we finally return to our sheep: the Dutch and the American republic. This excursion into The Netherlands' history should make it understandable why, at the news of the American Revolution, the old republic did not rush to its feet with enthusiasm for the new freedom-loving state. The Orangist Party, attached to England, the country's century-old ally, scorned the rebel colonists just as the Spaniards of Philip II had scorned William the Silent and his seditious followers. The Calvinist Church shared this aversion. The conservative patriots abhorred the democratic ideas implied in the Declaration of the Continental Congress. Only the rapidly growing group of the left-wing Patriots greeted the new republic with delight and enthusiasm. They belonged for the most part to the intelligentsia, for whom at that time French was the fashionable language. Two translations in French of Paine's *Common Sense* were published in 1776 in Holland.

There was sympathy for America, too, in most congregations not belonging to the official church; the Lutherans, the Mennonites, the Remonstrants, the Jews, and even the Catholics. But none of them had any voice in the government. And the government would not deviate from England's compass!

Yet it happened that the American flag was officially saluted abroad for the first time by the Dutch. That brings us to another group—or rather class—the Dutch businessmen, who, far from

parties and politics, enthusiastically applauded the American revolution; however, this was not for idealistic but for materialistic reasons. Nobody can blame them for that, because that revolution certainly did not result from idealism alone. Since the 16th century, and even earlier, the Dutch had been the carriers of Europe. They brought the products from the North to the South, from the East to the West, and vice versa. It was to the great annoyance of England that it could not beat its small competitor, until in 1651, it issued its Act of Navigation, forbidding imports to England on other than English ships and also restricting trade between Great Britain and its colonies to British ships. This unsurpassed protectionism was a terrible blow to the Dutch trade and laid (as you know) the foundation for England's sea power. The Declaration of Independence now opened a new prospect for Dutch trade. And Holland was eager to seize this opportunity, because around 1770 protectionism in all European countries was ruining its industry. England had limited industry as much as possible in its American colonies. This was now a fine opportunity for the Dutch. They soon discovered, however, that the Americans were not as much interested in commodities from Holland as in money. Amsterdam at that time was Europe's first money market. It placed Dutch loans everywhere, and Holland thereby influenced the world's affairs in spite of the political weakness of the country. It was the main creditor of France, Austria, Saxony, Denmark, Russia, Spain, and especially of England. In 1777, for instance, nearly half of the English national debt was in Dutch hands. The American rebels had reason to hope for close relations with the old republic.

Businessmen from both sides had already been in contact for some time, as, in spite of the Act of Navigation, some islands in the Caribbean Sea, such as Curaçao and mainly St. Eustatius, were smuggling bases for the molasses trade. They belonged to the Dutch West Indies Company, the same company that, between 1620 and 1667, had had settlements on Manhattan, Long Island and along the Hudson River. It was selling its molasses on

these islands to American businessmen, who shipped it to New England for the manufacture of rum, which in turn was sent to Africa and used in the slave trade. England's attempt to interfere in this cycle by imposing a special tax formed one of the materialistic reasons for the American revolt. "I know not why we should blush," said John Adams later, "to confess that molasses was an essential ingredient in American independence."

But, already in 1774, St. Eustatius was not only a molasses harbor; it was the trade center par excellence for all kinds of weapons as well. Being a free port, it saw in its roads Dutch ships, French flags, and even more or less disguised English skippers, more interested in profit than in patriotism. In that year the English Ambassador in Holland had already protested against the contraband smuggling on the little island. Officially, the States General forbade it. Then the Amsterdam businessmen packed their merchandise in tea boxes and the flood of arms to America continued, undisturbed.

On December 16, 1776, an American armed vessel, the *Andria Doria*, flying the flag of the new confederation, sailed into the harbor of St. Eustatius and saluted Fort Orange upon its entrance. After some moments of hesitation, at the order of Governor de Graeff, the fort responded to the salute with nine guns, in the way due the flags of independent and sovereign states. As soon as the echo died away, the fat was in the fire! England protested furiously to the States General through its very conceited and tactless Ambassador Yorke. The States General disavowed the salute and ordered De Graeff to justify himself. But the whole affair was put off and the result was that De Graeff was kept in office in spite of Yorke's sharp notes. The smuggling continued as before, until in 1781, after the outbreak of the war between Holland and England, the English Admiral Rodney took the island by surprise. He indignantly discovered that it was one great storehouse and arsenal. "Had it not been for this infamous island," he wrote to England, "the American rebellion could not possibly have subsisted." What a pity that this discovery came so late, as then victory was in sight for the rebels!

England had more reasons for great dissatisfaction with its old ally. In the darkest days of the Dutch revolt, Elizabeth had sent some Scottish troops to Holland as assistance against the common enemy, Spain. One of their leaders, Philip Sidney, fell there in battle. Since that time a Scottish brigade had always existed in the Dutch army, a kind of foreign legion whose soldiers came from everywhere but Scotland. In 1775, England wanted to borrow this brigade for the war in America. The Prince of Orange was highly in favor of it, but he had to ask the States General. And the States General could not decide on such foreign matters until the question had been discussed in the several Provincial States. It was during this discussion that the democratic patriot, Joan Baron van der Capelle, delivered a sharp and famous address in the Diet of the State of the Overijssel Province, in which he said that "it would not be tolerable that the troops of a free state, which in earlier times had been a rebel itself, should be used for the suppression of free men, who are defending the rights not bestowed upon them by a British legislation, but by God himself." These words caused so much consternation among the stately conservatives at the meeting that the speech was not entered into the minutes. But it was published and reprinted in the many papers and pamphlets which flooded the country and had a tremendous influence. The English request had to be refused. Though the States General gave entirely different reasons for this unfavorable decision, England knew well who and what had brought it about. From then on Van der Capelle was the champion of the American cause.

In my youth in Holland, I learned the song, still popular over there as a children's song, "Daar komt Paul Jonas aan, 't is zo'n aardig ventje." Not until my student days did I discover that the "nice guy that is coming" had originally been called "Paul Jones." The arrival of that famous freebooter and, in English eyes, renegade, must have deeply impressed the Dutch. It was in 1779. France, eager to avenge its Canadian defeat, had entered the war against England the previous year. Together with three French men-of-war, the American commodore had attacked the English

armed vessels, *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*. He captured them and, flying the Stars and Stripes, anchored in the roads of the Dutch navy port, Texel. The English Ambassador Yorke penned protest after protest to the States General. Jones traveled to The Hague, seeking permission to caulk his ships. The States General gave him to understand that he had to put to sea again as soon as possible. But Jones enjoyed his stay in Holland too much. Especially in Amsterdam was he the hero of the day. When he went to the theater, he received a warm ovation; even warmer were his tender affairs with young ladies. In short, he had a good time. When the States General finally decided that enough was enough, he exchanged the American flag for the French flag and was able to decide at his leisure on the right moment to foil the English navy which was awaiting him in the North Sea. Suddenly, on December 27th, he disappeared and soon sailed safely into the Spanish harbor of Coruna. The English chafed inwardly.

But, after all, this was no more than an amusing incident. The American revolutionaries hoped for more serious business with Holland, official recognition and, above all, loans. Both issues would still take some years. Congress had found an able secret agent, Charles Dumas, a French-German living in The Hague, who faithfully served his principals and tried to pave the way for recognition and a loan. For the time being, however, it was without direct results. Yet Amsterdam was more interested than the States General. The city was more foresighted than the partisan rulers in The Hague. It notified Dumas that it was very much in favor of a commercial treaty with America but that, of course, as a city it could do nothing until the war was over. In the meantime, the rumor went around that Arthur Lee, as official representative of Congress, was traveling in Europe and was staying just then in Aix-la-Chapelle, near the Dutch border. Behind Dumas' back, the burgomasters of Amsterdam sent the banker, Jean de Neufville, to carry on negotiations there. When de Neufville met Mr. Lee in Aix-la-Chapelle, he did not know that the man was not Arthur but William, Arthur's brother, a private citizen without

any authority. But William was very anxious to distinguish himself in the eyes of Congress, and so these two men drew up a "Plan of a Treaty of Commerce" that they both proudly signed. Then it was sent to Congress which for the time being wisely put it aside. Yet this was not to be the end of the silly matter for Holland. For, in October 1779, Congress decided to send an official representative to Holland to negotiate a treaty of trade and a loan of ten million guilders. The delegate was Henry Laurens. Unfortunately, the English navy seized his ship and arrested him. At the last moment he flung a bundle containing his papers into the sea, but the British fished it out. And there, among other documents on the Dutch-American arms trade, was the secret treaty draft of Aix-la-Chapelle! This came in the nick of time for George III.

England's actions at sea had irritated several states and, as far as The Netherlands was concerned, these actions were entirely incompatible with the Convention of 1674. Then both countries had agreed that "free ships should make free goods," in other words, that the flag should protect the cargo. In spite of this treaty England searched the neutral Dutch ships at sea for contraband, and sometimes even seized them; and protests were to no avail. How greatly this irritated the Dutch tradesmen is shown by the dozens and dozens of pamphlets of those days; and slowly a fierce anti-British feeling spread over The Netherlands. The Prince of Orange did everything he could to stem the tide, but without result. And it was not Holland alone that turned against England. Finally Catherine II of Russia took the initiative and started negotiations with the other neutral powers for a Coalition of Armed Neutrality. It brought England into great danger, and of course George III was very keen to thwart this alliance, especially to prevent the sea power, Holland, from joining it. The Aix-la-Chapelle Treaty was a good object for blackmail. Yorke sent sharp remonstrations to the States General and overbearingly required punishment for those guilty, to wit the city authorities of Amsterdam. Rightly, John Adams, who had just arrived in The Netherlands as successor to the unfortunate Laurens, wondered

how it was possible that Yorke, after twenty years' residence in Holland, could require things that were entirely contrary to Dutch traditions. Indeed, the States General had no jurisdiction whatever over the city councils and burgomasters. The States General could only refuse Yorke's highhanded requests. And, after much hesitation, they decided to join the Coalition of Armed Neutrality in November 1780. Then England declared war. From Paris, Franklin wrote Dumas: "Surely there never was a more unjust war. The spirit of rapine dictated it."

It has been a rule in politics since time immemorial that the enemy of my enemy is my friend. This did not apply, however, to the old and the new republics, though they were then both fighting England. The internal party strife had divided The Netherlands so greatly that in spite of the war it was unable to unite at once against the common enemy. For the Prince of Orange and his party, it was still impossible to recognize England as an enemy. And they were strengthened in this attitude because the Whigs in the English Parliament sharply criticized the government for its policy towards the old ally. In the eyes of the Orangists, the American rebellion was the root of all the trouble, and they felt less than ever inclined officially to recognize the originators of this misfortune. So this still substantial party, instead of carrying on the war, longed for an immediate reconciliation with England. But it would still take another two years before, in March 1782, the Whigs under Rockingham and Fox came into power, and then indeed peace negotiations were started at once. In the meantime the Patriots' Party in Holland had gained adherents and power. Together with the important group of businessmen, it helped Adams achieve his aims.

That it still would not be until April 1782 before he was officially accepted as ambassador in The Hague was not only due to the resistance of the Orangist Party, but, unexpectedly, even more to the machinations of the French Ambassador de Vaugyon. France itself was seeking a loan from Holland and realized quite well that as soon as Adams would be acknowledged by the Dutch republic, he would put all his energy into getting

the so-vehemently-desired money. The interests of France had to have priority. When that was fixed, there were suddenly practically no obstacles in the way of acceptance of Adams' credentials. And soon after, a loan of five million guilders was granted. However, it took some time before it was fully subscribed, because at the same time several separate American states, especially Maryland, were working for private loans from The Netherlands.

In the meantime, the Peace conference had started in Paris. The war had not been successful for Holland. The other members of the Coalition of Armed Neutrality had let it down. But it could not blame anybody but itself for being so ill-prepared for war. In Europe itself, the situation might have been worse: only one battle took place in the North Sea, at the Doggerbank. The outcome was undecided so that the admirals on both sides were cheered and honored with pomp and ostentation. But in the West Indies, St. Eustatius was lost; and, in the East Indies, Negopatnam. When, in the midst of the war, Fox proposed a separate and profitable peace to the United Provinces, they refused and remained loyal to their ally. This was an act of faith that was not rewarded at the peace conference, for France left Holland entirely in the lurch and at that time Fox was as hard as steel. The negotiations dragged on for nearly two years; but at the peace in 1784 England kept what she had conquered and refused to reinstate the old agreement: "free ships make free goods."

So a student of American history could rightly state: "The United Provinces which had proved themselves the benefactors of the United States and France during the gigantic struggle just terminated, must then be considered the real and only victims of the American Revolution."

During the peace conference in 1782, a treaty of commerce and friendly alliance was signed between the two republics. Everything was included that could be expected. There was also a special article stipulating that the United States should leave The Netherlands in the quiet possession of its colonies in the East and West Indies.

Adams' mission had been a great success. Before he left Holland in the fall of 1782, he received another loan, though the public had been quick to find out that investing money in the new republic was a highly risky business. Financially the United States was in a terrible condition; it did not have federal taxation and at that time suffered very much from mutinies. It was especially the Patriots Party which, for idealistic reasons, subscribed to this second loan, too. These two loans helped the new state through its worst difficulties and gave its government the power to save its union.

Things did not turn out too well in commerce. During the revolt Amsterdam had developed quite a trade with the United States. But the Dutch commodities were paid for with paper money, if paid for at all. After the war, the English, knowing American taste so much better, soon regained the market they had lost. For consumer products, the United States would shortly depend on its own industry. The Dutch hopes for a new export did not materialize.

The demand that remained and even grew, was the demand for money from The Netherlands. After 1784, America's finances went from bad to worse. In 1786, the United States could not even pay the interest due on the national debt. Another Dutch loan helped out. But how long could that continue? The Constitution was drafted a year later, the government attained power over its financial resources and Hamilton soon took over the treasury. At that time the outlook became brighter and America could look forward to a future in which it could stand on its own feet financially. Jefferson, the U. S. minister in Paris, wrote to John Jay: "Our credit is now first at the Exchange of Amsterdam." When, in 1796, America's external debt stood at twelve million dollars, the entire amount was owed to Holland. And the flow of money from The Netherlands grew and grew, for the highly idealistic speculation in the young republic was gradually becoming a sound investment.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Abraham Lincoln, A Biography. By Benjamin P. Thomas (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952. xiv + 548 + xii pages, including a critical biblio. of "Lincoln Literature" and index; illus., maps. $5.75.)

Over the past twenty-five years I have been asked hundreds of times to name the best one-volume life of Lincoln. At first the answer was easy. What else but Charnwood? But as time passed I was compelled to hedge, and then to admit that no book could be called satisfactory. Nothing had happened to Lord Charnwood's fine study, but much was happening in the field of Lincoln scholarship. Trained historians and biographers, who had shunned the life of Lincoln for two generations, were hard at work, overturning old conclusions and basing new ones on the solid foundation of original research. Important collections of source materials were becoming available—the Herndon-Weik papers in 1942, the Robert Todd Lincoln collection of his father's papers in 1947. No book that did not take into consideration the scholarly contributions of the years following 1925 could be said to meet the need.

This is not to imply that nothing worth while had been published. Quite the contrary. Albert J. Beveridge's *Abraham Lincoln* (1928) has enduring merit, but the two volumes carry the story only to 1858. Carl Sandburg's *Prairie Years* (1926) and *War Years* (1939) are classics, but six thick volumes call for more time than a great many readers can spare in this hurried and harried world. Other fine studies—David Donald's *Lincoln's Herndon* (1948), David M. Potter's *Lincoln and His Party in the Secession Crisis* (1942), Kenneth M. Stampp's *And the War Came* (1950), T. Harry Williams's *Lincoln and the Radicals* (1941), and Harry E. Pratt's *The Personal Finances of Abraham Lincoln* (1943), to name only a few—dealt with limited phases of Lincoln's life. The need for a comprehensive biography, up-to-date, readable, and compact, remained.

Now that need has been filled. Benjamin P. Thomas's *Abraham Lincoln* meets every essential requirement. A busy man can read it in three or four evenings, learn all he needs to know about Lincoln's life, and in the process derive pleasure from a narrative marked by a fine feeling for place and personality, by apposite quotation, by flashes of humor. He will, moreover, be offered judgments shaped in accordance with informed opinion and detail from sources hitherto inaccessible. This, however, he will be unaware of, for Thomas, fortunately, has abstained from the self-gratulation so common to workers in the Lincoln field.

To commend this book is not to say that it offers any radically new interpretation of its subject. That, in all probability, is impossible today, for the elements of Lincoln's character are firmly drawn and the signifi-

cance of his deeds established for all time. Nor is it to say that the book covers every phase of Lincoln's career, particularly between 1861 and 1865. Had the author attempted a general history of the United States during these years, had he chosen to deal in detail with the course of the Civil War, had he made extended excursions into such fields as diplomacy and the suppression of civil liberties, he would have spilled over into a second volume and defeated his primary purpose.

At the same time, he would have ventured into areas now being authoritatively covered. No one can read Allan Nevins's *Ordeal of the Union* (1947) and *The Emergence of Lincoln* (1950) without realizing that in these four volumes he has the initial segment of a comprehensive American history that will stand for a generation. No one can read the three volumes of Kenneth P. Williams' *Lincoln Finds a General* (1949, 1952) without being sure that this work, when completed, will rank as the definitive military study of the Civil War from the Union side. And anyone who wants to familiarize himself with all those phases of Lincoln's presidency which spatial limitations forced Thomas to forego will find them treated with impeccable scholarship and ripe wisdom in the three volumes of James G. Randall's *Lincoln the President* (1945, 1952) that have so far appeared. Rich fare indeed for those—and may their number be large—in whom Thomas's single volume arouses a desire for a broader, deeper knowledge of Lincoln and his times.

Chicago Historical Society PAUL M. ANGLE

The World of Eli Whitney. By JEANNETTE MIRSKY and ALLAN NEVINS. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. xvi + 346 pages, biblio., index, 2 plates. $5.75.)

This is the story, not only of a man's life as documents abundantly preserved by his descendants disclose it, but of its economic and social setting. Eli Whitney, neither soldier nor politician nor leader of men, does not appear of heroic mould in the usual sense. He was instead a man of ideas, expressed in tangible inventions and industrial techniques. Their impact on the economy of our young country supplies the drama of the book.

An outline of Whitney's career starts with early farm life in Massachusetts, followed by an interval as village schoolteacher, then four years at Yale. Here the authors remark: "the known facts are few and bare of details." After college, with his living to make, Whitney engaged himself as tutor to a South Carolina family. This brought him to the scene of his first and most notable conception, the mechanical separation of cotton fiber from seed. Strange to say, it was only a matter of weeks before he had invented the cotton gin. A patent, a partnership, and decades of unanticipated legal and political difficulties followed, while the New Englander sought to secure the rewards of his genius against a multitude

of infringers in the South. The particulars of this struggle for a patentee's right to the profits from his invention, the first of its kind in this country, foreshadow the lot of later inventors and make a highlight of the story. The authors draw significant conclusions on the extent to which a monopoly may be pushed.

Less dramatic but more heartening is the account of Whitney's successful effort to establish the principles of mass production in the manufacture of muskets at New Haven. Again the pioneer, he demonstrated the practicality of operating machine tools with unskilled labor to produce interchangeable parts, while filling a series of arms contracts for the Government. This was accomplished despite the initial resistance of petty officialdom. The new system was then instituted at the national armories and copied by other manufacturers. It set the pattern of industrial revolution. Whitney's rewards from musket-making were substantial. At the age of fifty-one he married a woman twenty years his junior, and commenced turning over business affairs to two nephews. His personal attributes and relationships are here best delineated, but the evidence is regrettably fragmentary.

To write a full-length biography one hundred and twenty-five years after the death of the subject, with only hoary documents to go on, is an ambitious undertaking; this the authors have carried out more than diligently. Through abundant quotation, Eli Whitney is allowed to speak for himself—expressions of his ingenuity, initiative and persistence are undimmed by paraphrase. If he lacked humor or warmth, his own words reveal it. While multiplicity of business detail seems at times to obscure rather than clarify the pattern of Whitney's life, such minutiae are invaluable to technological history. This scholarly work takes a place of first importance in the new exploration of the foundations of American industry.

New York City JOHN E. PARSONS

The Revolt of American Women; A Pictorial History of the Century of Change from Bloomers to Bikinis—from Feminism to Freud. By OLIVER JENSEN. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952. 224 pages, photographs, index. $6.00.)

Mr. Jensen has put together a most amusing picture book. Using as a starting point a large selection of the recently discovered photographs by Alice Austen, who recorded (with considerable technical skill) the life of a happy, middle-class girl living on Staten Island in the '80's, he has underscored again and again the changes which have overtaken "the ladies," has made it abundantly clear why no one adds "God bless 'em" any more, nor alludes to them as "the weaker sex." A century of rapidly altering but consistently comic feminine fashion is revealed as woman's life is explored in its newsworthy phases—the social leaders, the home-

makers, the mothers, the college girls, the actresses, the athletes, the career girls. Here are the funny hair-dos, the sweeping skirts, the stays and bones and furbelows which hampered our grandmothers and expressed so clearly the conventions which kept them in their proper places. The carriages and other conveyances are here to be laughed over, the cluttered interiors, the unhandy machinery for a life which had yet to be streamlined. Among all these props we see the faces of women whom we are to assume, evidently, to be happy. Blissfully unaware that almost nothing with which they had to deal was "functional," these women of our grandmothers' time, a little ridiculous, and very self-consciously female, are followed by a few scattered reformers, like Lucy Stone and Amelia Bloomer, after which, with a group photograph of the International Convention of Women assembled in Washington in 1888, Mr. Jensen introduces the sinister note of feminism.

From this point the pace accelerates dizzyingly; after temperance movements, "Votes for Women," and female education, the bars are down. The jazz age finds the women smoking, infesting the saloon, making themselves conspicuous in every phase of American life. A whirling kaleidoscope of camera shots records looser clothing, looser morals, frequent divorce, neurotically disturbed women, the new distribution of responsibility and authority with freedom to control property, to take whatever job she can get and hold, to stay out of the house and in the office if she chooses, have brought to woman.

This is, to repeat, a most entertaining chronicle in photographic highlights of conspicuous change, but it must be considered only in the light of a flash-bulb commentary. Just as the charmingly bound series of "candid camera" shots record for the bride the gay wedding, but leave to her own perception the emotions, the hopes and misgivings which no camera can catch, so this book catches the ridiculous, the sensational, the photogenic and the dramatic. While in pre-camera years we had women reflected only through the sensitive eye of the artist, from the delicate women of the Japanese prints to the pathetic little "Woman on a Gibbet" which is one of the most heartbreaking of all Rembrandt's drawings, now we have her only in the harsh glare of publicity. Of the millions of women who were not present when the lens clicked we have no record.

Mr. Jensen's text is less successful. Since this is a picture history, he has wisely kept text to a minimum; but it tends to be a minimum which is sensational rather than well considered, given to easily identifiable journalistic style, and to sweeping statements which are misleading and inaccurate. American women have raised a great fuss but their performance to date is deeply disappointing, Mr. Jensen seems to feel. They have traded happiness for freedom, and found it a bad bargain. Fortunately this is a book to have fun with, and does not have to be taken seriously as social history.

New York City PAMELA TAYLOR

Henry Adams: Scientific Historian. By William H. Jordy. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1952. xv + 327 pages, biblio., index. $5.00.)

Like many another critic of Henry Adams, William Jordy begins and ends his examination in paradox. For epigraph, he chooses Adams's own aphorism—"The historian must not try to know what is truth, if he values his honesty; for, if he cares for his truths, he is certain to falsify his facts." And, in his final chapter, Mr. Jordy finds the theme of personal failure the "paradoxical unity in Adams' thought." Mr. Jordy properly comments, however, that Adams dramatized his failure as a heroic one and "eventually gave his life significance by paralleling his experience with that of the whole human past."

Such a conclusion implies first that Adams's historical writing subserved an ultimate literary achievement, and second that Adams interpreted the past in a highly personal manner, in spite of the fact that he stressed a "scientific" approach to history. The larger part of *Henry Adams: Scientific Historian* is devoted to the latter implication.

The theme of self-contradiction is reinforced by Adams's method, as the critic discovers it in the nine-volume *History of the United States.* The historian, having demanded of himself objectivity, an impersonal subject matter, and an inductive arrival at general principles, actually provides there an instance of "superb narrative," and thus for all his scientific insistence joins himself to such literary, non-scientific historians as Parkman. Adams, the thorough scholar, risked "factualism" in his reliance upon his sources, dedicated himself to an "analytical progression," and apparently drew only such generalizations as were implicit in his documents. Nevertheless, by selection and arrangement, he showed himself to be an artist, so skillful in his manipulation that the reader is left "almost unaware" of the aesthetic and dramatic process. Mr. Jordy also calls attention to Adams's use of irony and to his sense of comedy, and compares him to the "consummate novelist"—techniques and attitudes hardly appropriate in scientific history.

On the other hand, the *History* as clearly shows Adams's preoccupation with the scientific analogy. In it appear the metaphor of the graph, the suggestive patterns of natural science, the measurement of event in terms of force and energy, and the definite indebtedness to positivism. It therefore illustrates Adams's resort to scientific imagery, although it does not offer such spectacular instances as the later, shorter historico-scientific essays, "A Letter to American Teachers of History," "The Rule of Phase Applied to History," and "The Tendency of History."

Mr. Jordy's elucidation of these three papers is unquestionably the most valuable part of his work. Here he is primarily a destructive critic. In all three, he finds Adams's "fondness for the vivid scientific image" fatal, because of Adams's ignorance, misinterpretation, and deliberate distortion of his material; fatal also because of its irrelevance for history.

"Indeed," he concludes, "no scientific definition for a system applies to history. Except as the rudest sort of metaphor, Adams' quest was bound to fail." Since Adams "knew his follies for what they were," his "Letter" was ironic. Moreover, it was feebly and irresponsibly so.

The judgment is harsh, but the evidence supports its correctness. Constructively, it clarifies Adams's willful obfuscation, and it will do much to check the less willful but equally invalid and pretentious criticism which has echoed his absurdities, and to destroy the sham manikin of the "American Nostradamus" which Adams himself set up. Stripped of sterile complexity and arrogant oracularity, Adams should receive a juster and richer critical appreciation than he has sometimes had.

Some of Mr. Jordy's minor statements are debatable. That Adams's own theory of the progress of American civilization was nationalism—that the "theme of the *History* is American nationalism"—is open to doubt. The Adams balance between "popular" energy and enlightened leadership is rather more tipped than Mr. Jordy shows it to be. And he is inclined to ignore the many passages in the *History* in which Adams is explicitly subjective and emotional.

To his credit, he has not only his considerable central achievement, but also other contributions only less useful. He puts a proper and very necessary emphasis upon Comte as one of the dominant influences in Adams's thinking. He brings out Adams's essential didacticism, a social criticism embodied in a calculated literary presentation. To his Adams critique he adds an understanding of 19th-century science in its impact upon historical theory. And he has not yielded to the Adams paradox—both his "truths" and his facts are maintained.

Smith College, Northampton, Mass. EVELYN PAGE

Strange Empire: A Narrative of the Northwest. By JOSEPH KINSEY HOWARD, with an introduction by BERNARD DEVOTO. (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1952. xxii + 601 pages, 11 maps, index and bibliography compiled by Rosalea Fox. $6.00.)

In *Strange Empire*, Joseph Kinsey Howard has given us, for the first time as documented history, the heroic struggle of one of the least-known nationalistic groups who endeavored to establish their own empire in the heart of the North American continent. Furthermore, this was an entirely *new* ethnic group which was the outgrowth of the early settlement of this continent by Europeans; and the inception of a new race of people is in itself a rare circumstance in the history of the human race.

This book is about the Métis and their zealous patriot Louis Riel. Métis is a term that was used by the French-speaking pioneers of the Northwest to designate persons of mixed white and Indian blood. It became a more specific identification for a highly homogeneous group of mixed-bloods who roamed the Northern Plains westward from the Red River, which

runs northward out of North Dakota and into Lake Winnipeg. The fathers of the Métis were the French, English, and Scotch frontiersmen; and their mothers were the American Indians. They were wilderness-wanderers, great buffalo hunters, rough and undisciplined, Catholic in religion, closer to the French than to other races, and intensively nationalistic. Louis Riel was their patriot. He became something of a dictator; a man of high ideals, who "adored God and feared and hated bloodshed . . . and led the people he loved into a suicidal crusade" for the fulfillment of a dream of national autonomy. The partner who shared his leadership was a man who "was not concerned about God's justice or racial destiny, or his own standing with posterity; but who simply liked to fight." The Métis sought to achieve nationhood, as the Thirteen Colonies had. Riel led his people in two major rebellions against the whites who claimed their territory—in 1870 and 1885. He rode unarmed at the head of his motley army, a large crucifix in his arms. Although Louis Riel once served in the Canadian Parliament, he was finally tried for treason and hanged on the gallows. His nation died with him. Mr. Howard believes that if Riel had not depended so strongly upon a hope for justice and had unleashed his Métis for an all-out fight, the West might have been lost to Canada.

We are apt to forget how the fate of dominion over the vast territory of North America often hung so narrowly in the balance. It was a struggle between colonial empires—Spanish, French, English, and even Dutch; not to mention the various American Indians, the rightful possessors of the land. It could so easily have been that the United States remained little more than the Thirteen Colonies; that Canada became French; that all west of the Mississippi came down to us as Spanish; or that the Northwest became Métis.

Strange Empire is beautfully written; and it is far too seldom that we find fine literature and historical importance combined in such a happy combination. Joseph Kinsey Howard died August 25, 1951, just after this work was completed, but before it was published. He was a brilliant historian. To say that *Strange Empire* is more exciting than fiction, does not do it full justice; for it is an important contribution to the strange history of America.

New York City HAROLD MCCRACKEN

American Decorative Wall Painting, 1700–1850. By NINA FLETCHER LITTLE. (Sturbridge, Mass.: Old Sturbridge Village, in cooperation with Studio Publications, New York City, 1952. xvi + 145 pages, with appendices, biblio., index, and 147 illus., 6 in color. $10.00.)

All people with an interest in American painting will find much that is new to them and much to learn from reading this book. Only those antiquarians who know all the old houses in New England may be familiar with some of the material contained in this new book. To quote

Marshall Davidson in his Foreward, "Ironically, thanks to one of the accidents of history, until recently we knew more of what went on the walls of ancient Pompeii than what went on the walls of American buildings a few centuries ago." We now have a good record in Mrs. Little's book of many examples of pictorial art, design, graining and marbleizing, which are just about all the tricks painters used in the art of interior decoration. These many aspects of painting as applied directly to the homes, churches, and other public buildings suffered a form of near-extinction as styles changed; for it was all too easy to apply another layer of paint as time went on, thus obliterating the original work of art, which was thereby lost to later generations.

One very interesting feature about the pictorial overmantel pieces is that, for the most part, they have survived either in their original location or with a clear history. All too frequently in the case of 18th-century American easel paintings the provenance is unknown. Those overmantel paintings which are still *in situ* have a double value, for paintings of any period are best seen "in context," and all too few are. Of course, many overmantel paintings and fire screens have been salvaged from buildings which have long since been torn down. These "out of context" paintings can only be judged pictorially, such as the lion shown on the fireboard from the Dresser Tavern, Charlton, Massachusetts, which conveys more vigor and hostility than Edward Hicks, through the thoroughly tamed beasts of his various "Peaceable Kingdoms," was able to delineate.

The next person who attempts a general history of American painting will have to depend heavily on Mrs. Little's work, for she has brought to light in her book a wealth of pictorial art hitherto overlooked by the conventional art-historian. Not only the subject matter, whether it be ideal or iconographical, but also the previously unknown painters that the author has identified will have to be accounted for. Thanks to Mrs. Little's scholarship, the biographies of the various painters are well recorded in an appendix. The bibliography is quite impressive and the index does not appear to be skimped as it has been in several recent books on American art.

The author with her extensive knowledge of old houses has added much to the record. Not only has she supplied material which should have been known to William Dunlap, who published the first major history of American art in 1834, but she has presented us with a book that directly relates painting to architecture. Our historians have been all too willing in the past to place painting and architecture in "water-tight" compartments, as if there were no reason for the two subjects to meet after the historians had in their artificial way "surgically" separated them. Now we well know that painting and architecture should never be considered alone. In this respect Mrs. Little has made her greatest contribution to the history of American art.

Smith College Museum of Art MARY BARTLETT COWDREY

American Furniture: Queen Anne and Chippendale Periods in the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum. By Joseph Downs. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1952. xi pages plus 411 plates including 10 in color, index. $17.50.)

Book reviews aren't supposed to read like bread-and-butter notes, but it is next to impossible to discuss this magnificent picture book of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum without saying a word or two about the museum itself, and the welcome that is waiting for each and every one of us who cares for the tradition of our arts and crafts, whether we fix our stares on broken pediments or spend every second inspecting Stiegel glass.

By now, enough has been said in print about the 200-odd rooms of the museum for everyone to realize that Mr. du Pont has assembled a matchless collection of our decorative arts. What isn't generally known, and what should be emphasized, is that he has given just as much thought to the problem of showing his treasures to the public as he did to the collecting of them in the first place. No one can go away from Winterthur without being profoundly grateful, for instance, for the candle bulbs lighting the period rooms; they are such a pleasant relief from the glare of most museum installations that we can only hope that the innovation will be slavishly imitated. But the candle bulbs are only one of many experiments in lighting; again and again mouldings are subtly illuminated. Finally, to Mr. du Pont must go the credit for organizing a staff of guides whose knowledge is only equalled by their tact; any question a visitor may raise is instantly and thoughtfully answered, and nothing so dreary as a standardized recital of dates and facts is attempted.

Perhaps, then, Mr. Downs will be good enough to forgive this reviewer for pointing out that this fabulous picture book of our eighteenth-century furniture can only be really appreciated by those who have had the privilege of visiting Winterthur. For if you have seen the place itself, these excellent photographs of the masterpieces of William Savery and his rivals will remind you, not only of the challenge of our early arts and crafts, but of the delight of having gazed upon the very best examples in a museum where all labels were carefully hidden from view, and where anything as pompous as a rope to rail off the public couldn't be conceived of.

If you haven't yet crossed the museum's door, you'll want to write Winterthur at once, and you won't in the least mind waiting your turn to be one of the twenty daily admitted. For the hundreds of beds, arm chairs, side chairs, easy chairs, desks, chests on chests, sofas, breakfast tables, tea tables, card tables, and looking glasses so lavishly displayed in these pages couldn't possibly be studied under happier circumstances.

The New-York Historical Society Wayne Andrews

Abbott H. Thayer, Painter and Naturalist. By Nelson C. White. ([Hartford, Conn.:] Connecticut Printers, Inc., 1951. 277 pages plus [67] illus. $15.00.)

Abbott Handerson Thayer (1849–1921) was a major figure in the world of American Art from the 1890's on for the next two decades. Now more than thirty years since his death the artist is, as the formula indicates, pretty much forgotten. Not many artists of Thayer's stature are so lucky as to have such an accomplished biography written and published within the memory of his death. Mr. White who had never known Thayer has done an admirable job. However, the author has been familiar with the artist's work for many decades. He mentions the Thayer Memorial Exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York a year after the artist's death, saying, "Few people who saw the exhibition will ever forget it. As one who haunted the large south gallery of the Museum from March 20 to April 30, 1922, I can testify to its compelling power. It was, of course, the ideal way to see the art of one man. There were no clashing contrasts with the work of others. All was harmonious, showing the development of a great painter from the beginning to the end of his long career."

Thayer, who first painted still-life subjects of dead birds and a few landscapes, gradually developed into one of the major figure-painters of his time. He might be called a latter-day Pre-Raphaelite in that many of his figures, primarily portraits, show a rather extreme idealism and other-worldly quality. The idealism was such that Thayer sometimes portrayed his subjects as angels, slightly reminiscent of the work of Sir Edward Burne-Jones. But that was period-production within the period and hence represented an honest creative effort as we now see it in retrospect. As a biographer, Mr. White presents his subject as a historian and the book is a model for all future biographers to follow, if they are writing about a figure in recent past.

Historians each half century have a habit of re-evaluating the work of artists. Absolutes have a strange way of shifting as we can see in looking back at Thayer among his friends and contemporary artists: Dwight Tryon, Thomas Dewing, George DeForest Brush, and Augustus Saint Gaudens. There has been considerable variation in grading the relative importance of these past figures and it is not unlikely that within our present decade Thayer may temporarily emerge as relatively more important than the others. As many readers of the book will suspect it to be a biography only of an artist, it might be well to point out that this now nearly forgotten artist was also a figure of some consequence in the field of natural history. Thayer from the mid-nineties on to the end of his career was interested in protective coloration. This study led him to make contributions to the study of camouflage during the first World War. The present book contains three color reproductions illustrating the relationship between the plumage of birds and the color of snakes to their natural habitation.

Not only has Mr. White written a scholarly and sympathetic biography of the painter-naturalist Abbott H. Thayer, but in an architectural sense he has constructed the book in a workmanlike manner. Following the table of content is the list of illustrations containing the obvious and necessary facts; after various appendices follows a list of awards received by Thayer; then there is a list of galleries and museums where his work is represented. This is followed by an adequate bibliography and an index. The work is amply illustrated with halftone cuts. The only correction this reviewer finds cause to make is that the Smith College Museum of Art no longer owns Thayer's "Winged Figure." The Art Institute of Chicago now owns this painting.

Smith College Museum of Art — MARY BARTLETT COWDREY

Lying in State. By STANTON GRIFFIS. (N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1952. 315 pages, illus. $3.75.)

This is a sort of "laughing autobiography," as Mr. Griffis himself suggests; the serio-comic recollections of a Yankee Midas who stumbled into Wall Street, into the world of entertainment, and into the service of the Government, and once in, rarely made a false step. Both as a man of business and as a man of affairs, Griffis has been essentially a trouble-shooter; whether in saving bankrupt enterprises from ruin or in maintaining friendly relations with touchy autocrats, he has excelled as a one-man *ad hoc* committee on crises. It is indeed a remarkable story, which he tells with evident enjoyment. The reader may or may not find it diverting, but he can hardly fail to find it breath-taking in its kaleidoscopic range from an up-state New York parsonage, through Wall Street, Broadway, Madison Square Garden, Paramount Pictures, and Brentano's, to the OSS and the Red Cross and the American Embassies at Warsaw, Cairo, Buenos Ayres, and Madrid. When he has finished, he will probably agree with Edna Ferber that the book should have been called "The Rover Boy."

D.H.W.

Behind the Wall Street Curtain. By EDWARD DIES. (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1952. 153 pages. $2.75.)

Mr. Dies, a business executive and long-time student of finance and investment, lifting the curtain of sinister mystery which, he says, leftish economists and demagogic politicians have all-too-successfully drawn over the operations of Wall Street, reveals a vivid, sometimes even lurid past, a heartening record of recent self-criticism and self-correction, and an optimistic picture of the Wall Street of today and tomorrow as "a symbol of freedom of trade by free men [which] will endure in the changing patterns of America's bold onward drive to a broader and greater destiny" (p. 153).

D.H.W.

Life on the Upper Susquehanna 1783–1860. By James Arthur Frost. (N.Y.: King's Crown Press, 1951. ix + 172 pages, maps, biblio., index. $2.75.)

A brief history of social, political, economic, and cultural development in western New York from frontier days to the middle of the 19th century, including material drawn from the collections of this Society.

The New Dictionary of American History. By Michael Martin and Leonard Gelber. (N.Y.: Philosophical Library, 1953. vi + 695 pages. $10.00.)

A concise compendium of basic information on persons, events, and institutions significant in our history. Up-to-date and surprisingly comprehensive, this one-volume encyclopedia will be a useful reference aid to teachers and students of American history.

Quabbin, The Lost Valley. Compiled by Donald W. Howe and edited by Roger Nye Lincoln, with sketches by Elizabeth Howe Lincoln. (Ware, Mass.: The Quabbin Book House, 1951. xviii + 631 pages, illus., index. $7.50.)

A pictorial and historical record of the ten communities of the Swift River Valley of Massachusetts which had to be abandoned between 1927 and 1939 to make way for Boston's new water supply, the great Quabbin Reservoir. From town records and the reminiscences of former residents the authors have reconstructed the history of each town from its founding to its abrupt demise, amplifying the text with numerous old photographs. The volume is a *tour de force* of antiquarian endeavor and a fitting tribute to the memory of the "lost valley."

St. Ann's on East Twelfth Street, New York City, 1852–1952. By the Reverend Henry J. Browne. (N.Y.: The Roman Catholic Church of St. Ann, 1952. v + 65 pages, illus., map.)

A "collective biography" of pastors and the parish, this little pamphlet traces the history of St. Ann's through its first hundred years, with side-glances at the concurrent history of Manhattan's lower East Side.

Town Father: A Biography of Gamaliel Painter. By W. Storrs Lee. (N.Y.: Hastings House, 1952. xii + 242 pages, chapter decorations by Edward Sanborn, no index. $3.75.)

The life of Gamaliel Painter—pioneer and principal founder of Middlebury, Vermont, officer of the Revolution, judge, businessman, legislator, and benefactor of Middlebury College.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

January 6: Lecture for members and friends: "The Story of Pleasure Carriages," by Colonel Paul H. Downing.

January 9: Under the auspices of the Society's Department of Education Dr. William H. Bristow, Director of the Bureau of Curriculum Research of the Board of Education, held a meeting of his Curriculum Assistants in the auditorium. After a welcome by Dr. Vail, Miss Barck spoke on the library and Mr. Bilodeau on the educational facilities of the Society. A tour of the building followed.

January 24: Meeting of the Walpole Society.

January 30: Meeting of the Bibliographical Society of America.

January 31: Meeting of the Steamship Historical Society.

February 3: Lecture for members and friends: "Two Republics," by Professor Benjamin Hunningher, of Columbia University. Opening of a special exhibition commemorating the establishment of municipal government in New Amsterdam in 1653.

February 5: Meeting of the Association of Towns of New York. The Town Historians were greeted by Dr. Vail. Miss Barck spoke on "The Society's Library" and Mr. Koke on "The Society's Museum." The program also included talks on "Cobblestone Architecture of New York State" by Carl T. Schmidt and "Local History and Folklore" by Frank M. Warner.

February 7: Meeting of Oberlin Women's Club.

February 17: Special exhibition: "Charles Lennox Wright I, Pioneer of Zinc Etching," opened in third-floor east corridor.

February 19: Brotherhood meeting of the National Council of Jewish Women.

March 3: Lecture for members and friends: "Adventures of a Literary Detective" by George W. Bergquist.

March 12: Opening of special exhibition: "The Blizzard of '88."

March 14: School Art League Program: "Sports in American Art," lecture by Arthur B. Carlson, Curator of Maps and Prints, The New-York Historical Society.

March 21: School Art League Program: "Time and Space," by Scott Wilson, Industrial Designer.

March 26: Meeting of the Eastern States Association of Professional Schools for Teachers.

March 28: School Art League Program: "Cartoons and Caricatures," by Burne Hogarth, Associate Director, Cartoonists and Illustrators School.

The following lectures and exhibitions are scheduled for April–June:

April 1: "Circus Time," a special exhibition showing the history and development of the American circus. A 24-page booklet on that subject,

titled *This Way to the Big Top*, by R. W. G. Vail, Director of the Society, will be published for this occasion.

April 4–June 27: "Homelands of our Forefathers," a series of travel-film programs, showing the old homelands of Americans, Saturday afternoons at 2 o'clock, sharp.

April 7: Lecture for members and friends: A special program of old-time films of great actresses.

April 22: Special Arbor Day exhibit: "Old Trees of New York."

May 5: Lecture for members and friends: "The Six Nations of New York and Pennsylvania," by Dr. P. A. W. Wallace.

June 1: Special exhibit in honor of the 100th Anniversary of the American Medical Association.

June 8: Annual Strawberry Festival. Dr. Sigmund Spaeth will present the program, "New York's History in Song," illustrated at the piano by Dr. Spaeth.

There have been two recent additions to the staff of the Society: Miss Dorothy Vernon, Secretary, and Mrs. Robin H. Beyer, Cataloguer.

Dr. Arthur H. Merritt (D.D.S.), a trustee of this Society, past president of the American Dental Association, author of three books on dentistry and articles on Staffordshire Ware, has been elected president for 1953 of the American Academy of the History of Dentistry, of which he is a charter member. Dr. Merritt will deliver his presidential address at Cleveland on the last Saturday of September next, at the joint meeting of the Academy and the Association.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

SIXTY-EIGHT photographs taken by the donor at Fort Ticonderoga, New Orleans, and New York City; pastel view of "Carl Schurz Park and Welfare Island" by Mrs. E. C. Kind, 1944. *Gift of Dr. Fenwick Beekman.*

Twenty-nine postcard views of steamships. *Gift of Miss Marjorie Borton.*

Army and Navy "E" flag awarded during World War II. *Gift of Mr. George Bruchiss.*

Three photographs of floating grain-elevators in New York Harbor. *Gift of Mr. C. E. Burgess.*

Plaster busts of Poe, Irving, Westinghouse, Longfellow, Lincoln, Seward, Emerson, Lowell, and Hawthorne by Daniel Chester French (1850–1931); plaster busts of Admiral Byrd and of Joseph P. Day by Margaret French Cresson. *Gift of Mrs. William Penn Cresson.*

Oil portrait of Daniel Webster by Chester Harding (1792–1866). *Gift of Mary L. Delafield, Maturin L. Delafield, Rita D. Kip, Edward C. Delafield, Jr., and Mary D. Kramer.*

Verzameling Amsterdam, the donor's catalogue of paintings, prints, books,

silver, coins and medals, relating to the iconography, life, commerce and industry of the city of Amsterdam, in three volumes with many illustrations. *Gift of Mr. W. J. R. Dreesmann.*

Two lead eagles, *c.* 1800, used as gate-post decorations from near Kingston, N.Y. *Gift of Colonel and Mrs. Edgar W. Garbisch.*

Two bronze commemorative medals: "The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company 1827–1927," with a reproduction of Peter Cooper's "Tom Thumb" and of the latest Malett locomotive, inscribed on the reverse: "One Hundred Years / Safety, Strength, Speed"; and "The Stourbridge Lion 1829–1929 / The Delaware and Hudson Company," inscribed on the reverse: "Commemorating / the One Hundredth Anniversary / of the First Successful Trip / made in America by a Steam Locomotive / at Honesdale, Pennsylvania / August 8th, 1829 / By the Stourbridge Lion / Driven by Horatio Allen." *Gift of Henry O. Havemeyer, Esquire.*

Ninety-five volumes of local history and genealogy, 17 scrapbooks of genealogical and historical clippings, two volumes and fifty sheets of music, 950 letters of and to the donor's brother, Charles Winthrop Gilman, and of other members of her family, an album and 37 separate photographs; portrait of Anthony Lispenard Bleecker of New York City. *Gift of Mrs. Robert C. Hill, daughter of Winthrop S. Gilman.*

Two volumes of newspaper clippings relating to the Spanish-American War, and to the Croton Dam Strike, 1900, gathered and mounted by the late Samuel V. Hoffman; 42 volumes and pamphlets of New York City interest. *Gift of Mrs. Samuel V. Hoffman.*

Diploma for the Rutgers Female Institute, New York City, 1856, to Mary M. Gilbert (mother of the donor). *Gift of Miss May A. Holt.*

Oil painting: "Triumph of George II" by an unidentified English artist; "Democratic Crying Towel," a souvenir of the Circus Saints and Sinners luncheon, November 21, 1952. *Gift of Mr. James Hazen Hyde.*

Eighty-two letters to, and manuscripts of, Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, and a letter book. *Gift of Mrs. Goodhue Livingston.*

Collection of seven guns and pistols of the 18th–19th centuries. *Gift of Mrs. Wilton Lloyd-Smith.*

Two needlework pictures, sampler, three mirrors, and two watercolors by George Harvey: "Hastings Landing" and "Boston Common." *Gift of Mrs. Screven Lorillard.*

Two folio account books, 1724–1768, of Auguste Jay (1665–1751) and of Peter Jay (1704–1782), of New York. *Gift of Mr. Hall Park McCullough.*

Four silver spoons made by Joel Sayre of New York and Peter Griffen of Albany. *Gift of Mr. Lewis Gouverneur Morris.*

Thirteen letters from Samuel F. B. Morse to his brother, Sidney E. Morse, and two to others; letter from Daniel Huntington to Sidney E. Morse, 1867. *Gift of Miss Edna Morse, granddaughter of Sidney E. Morse.*

Oil portrait of King William III (1650–1702) by Willem Wissing (1656–1687), and of Queen Mary II (1662–1694) by Jan Van Der Vaart (1647–1721). *Gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy.*

Oil portrait of Moses DeWitt Burnet of Syracuse, N.Y., by Charles L. Elliot (1812–1868). *Given in memory of Mr. and Mrs. John Burnet Nash by their daughters.*

Engraving of George Washington by W. L. Ormsby, New York, after painting by Gilbert Stuart. *Gift of Mrs. Edgar Nathan.*

Sword which was worn by the donors' father, Lt. Col. William B. Overton, at the opening of the Brooklyn Bridge, May 24, 1883. *Gift of the Misses Clara and Jacqueline Overton.*

Oil portrait of Mrs. E. A. Holyoke (Judith Pickman, 1735–1756) by John Greenwood. *Gift of Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis.*

Five daguerreotypes of Thomas Edgerley and of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph H. Edgerley; two awards of merit, 11 cards, 4 dance orders and a certificate of N.Y. Volunteer Firemen. *Gift of Mr. Melvin Edgerley Robbins.*

A pair of silver salt cellars and spoons, ladle, server and twelve teaspoons which belonged to the Schuyler family. *Gift of Mr. H. Philip Schuyler.*

Gavel made of wood from the original White House, removed from the building during recent reconstruction by the donors. *Gift of Spencer, White and Prentis.*

Flintlock "Tower" musket, 17th Regiment of Foot (British), and bayonet. *Gift of Mrs. William M. Tarbox, in memory of her husband.*

Plaster death mask of Don Marquis (1878–1937) by Adolf Alexander Weinman, 1937. *Gift of Mrs. Adolph Alexander Weinman.*

Eighteen photographs taken by the donor in 1951–52 in New York City. *Gift of Mr. Lewis F. White.*

Bronze medal commemorating the dedication of the Lincoln Tunnel in 1937. *Gift of Mr. Louis C. Wills.*

Seventy-two theatrical posters, and 39 programs and concert announcements, early 1900's. *Gift of the Estate of William A. Wing.*

CORRECTION

In the *Quarterly* for July 1952, p. 356, 7th line from the bottom, for *Oliver Teller* read *Oliver Stephen Teller*; and in the *Quarterly* for January 1953, p. 103, line 12, for *Stephen Teller* read *Oliver Stephen Teller.*

TAX DEDUCTIONS FOR GIFTS AND BEQUESTS

The New-York Historical Society qualifies as an educational institution to which life-time gifts of money or property or devises or bequests under a will may be deducted for income or estate tax purposes to the extent permitted by law.

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